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THE MEANING OF HOME RULE

— WITH —

NOTES ON THE 1893 BILL

ADDRESSED TO THE "MAN IN THE STREET,"

BY THE

RIGHT HON. JESSE COLLINGS, J.P., M.P.

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THE MEANING OF HOME RULE.

During the passing through the House of Commons of the Home Rule Bill of 1893, I took notes of the leading provisions and principal points in the measure, and published them week by week in the *Rural World*. I was encouraged at the time to do this especially by the late Lord James of Hereford (then Sir Henry James). He said that though the Bill would probably be passed in the Commons the question would not be done with, and that a concise account of what took place in the House would at a future time be most useful for those of the public who had not time or opportunity to wade through long speeches or to understand and master the intricate debates which took place in Parliament on the subject.

The method adopted in the Notes was to quote the important clauses in the Bill as they came up in Committee, to give the different amendments moved to them, and to add the measure of support both clauses and amendments received, and then, by dissecting the votes, to show the nature of that support and opposition.

EXAMPLE OF THE METHOD ADOPTED.

(See page 44 of "Notes.")

Mr. Gladstone's Bill was not framed on the principle of devolution—that is, conferring certain definite powers on the Irish Parliament—but all powers were given to the Irish Legislature except the few relating to certain questions named in Clause 3 and 4. But it was difficult to see how the Irish Legislature could be prevented from dealing with these if so disposed. Accordingly Lord Wolmer (now Earl of Selborne) moved an amendment with the object of preventing the Irish Parliament from passing resolutions as well as laws, on the subjects with which they were forbidden to deal—such as interfering with foreign affairs, sending emissaries to foreign courts, intriguing with our enemies in time of war, etc.

The Government, through the Solicitor-General, frankly admitted the danger, but the Irish Nationalists were strongly against the amendment, and Mr. Gladstone in opposing it, made the significant statement that the Imperial Parliament would have no power to enforce such a safeguard if it were adopted.

It is evident that Mr. Gladstone was right in his contention, for with an Irish Executive responsible to an Irish Parliament alone for its actions, the only power of control a British Government could exercise would be that of armed force.

The discussion on this amendment lasted five hours. It was defeated by a Government majority of twenty-one in the whole House, but if British votes only are reckoned the Government were in a minority of twenty-nine.

It will thus be seen that by the method adopted in the Notes, of which the above is an example, the pith and meaning of a subject which may have caused a long debate are given in a few lines.

HOME RULE AGAIN TO THE FRONT.

Home Rule is again to the front, the old struggle is being repeated, and the country is entering on a fierce agitation over a question which is one of supreme importance. In the present contest we shall see repeated, in support of Home Rule, the same concealment, and the same plausible statements and suppression of facts which characterised former agitations.

Many have forgotten the events of 1886 and 1893; and to the younger generation of voters, to all those say under forty years of age, the subject is new. For these reasons I thought it might be useful to republish the "Notes on Home Rule" as they appeared at the time in the *Rural World*, in order that the real meaning of Home Rule may be seen, not based on opinions, but on fact and authority that cannot be disputed.

A Home Rule Bill has been twice introduced into the House of Commons. That of 1886 was defeated on the second reading by a majority of thirty; that of 1893 was passed by the Commons but thrown out by the House of Lords. The action of the Lords on that occasion was subsequently approved by the constituencies at the general election of 1895, when the Unionists were returned with a majority of 152.

The existence of the present Government depends on the support of the Irish Nationalist Party, and Mr. John Redmond has made it a condition of that support that Mr. Asquith shall pass a Home Rule Bill without delay. With the present balance of parties in the House of Commons, and by a system of what is known as log-rolling, under which the Government holds its majority by concessions and promises made to each section of the present Coalition as the price of its support, there will be no difficulty in passing a Home Rule Bill through that House. It will, however, be certainly defeated in the House of Lords, and there is no reason to doubt that the action of the Lords would again be confirmed by the electors were they permitted by the Government to pass judgment upon it.

VETO OR PARLIAMENT ACT.

The object, therefore, of the recent Veto Act is to overcome this difficulty by destroying the powers of the House of Peers for two years, during which interval the Home Rule Bill is to be passed behind the back and without the consent of the constituencies. The "predominant partner" is to be ignored, and the British electors are not even to be consulted.

This is the corrupt bargain made between the Government and their allies, the Irish Nationalists, by which the unity of the kingdom is to be bartered away for place and power.

As an excuse for this arbitrary proceeding, this insult to the electors, the Government declare that in the general election of January, 1910, Home Rule was a question at issue, and that they received a mandate from the constituencies to carry it out. This statement, as facts show, is untrue.

Home Rule as a direct issue of this contest was not put in the election address of the Prime Minister or in that of any of his colleagues in the Cabinet.*

The reason for ignoring it is plain. They were afraid to put it in the front lest public opinion should be aroused. If Home Rule had been put forward as the issue of the contest, it is most probable that the Liberal Party would have been defeated. As it was the Government lost 105 seats as the result of that election. The Liberal majority of 336 in 1906 had dwindled down to 124 in 1910.

Sir Edward Carson, in the debate of August, 1911, quoted a circular issued to the electors by Sir E. J. Soares, who was then Government Whip, the terms of which were as follows:—

> "I hope you will not be led astray by the Home Rule bogey with which our opponents are attempting to confuse the issue. You have known me long enough to rely upon my word, and I definitely pledge myself to vote against an Independent Parliament for Ireland and against any scheme for the separation of the two countries."

Now, a Government Whip is the agent and mouthpiece of the Cabinet, and such a circular as this could not have been issued without authority. In the face of these facts, no one, whatever his views may be, can say that Home Rule was an issue at the election.

By the surrender of the Lords, who seem to have "committed suicide to save themselves from slaughter," the Veto Bill has become law, and the way is now clear for the Government to introduce their Home Rule Bill without let.

HISTORICAL.

The term "Home Rule" is both attractive and elastic. It might mean anything from simple local government to complete autonomy.

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*The only direct allusions to Home Rule in the addresses of Cabinet Ministers in January, 1910, were as follows:—(1) Mr. Buxton: "I am, and always have been, in favour of Home Rule." (2) Mr. Haldane (after referring to Irish Land Purchase): "Thus equipped he" (the Irish peasant) "will be the better qualified to take that larger part in the administration of Irish affairs which, now as formerly, seems to me to be the key to the solution of the Irish problem." (3) Mr. Burns: "I am in favour of such Legislative Independence for Ireland, in Irish affairs, as will enable that country to revive her industries, maintain her population, and stimulate her social and agrarian prosperity in accordance with Irish ideas. The Imperial supremacy of the Federal British Parliament in Imperial matters affecting all sections of the United Kingdom to remain inviolate." (4) Mr. Lloyd George did not issue an address.

Since the measures were fought and defeated in 1886 and 1893, a new generation of voters has, I repeat, come into public life whose knowledge of the Irish question is based mainly on tradition, reading or hearsay.

In what follows, therefore, for the sake of plainness it is necessary to refer to facts that are now historical, so that the younger members of the community may trace for themselves the progress of events up to the present crisis.

With most of the younger generation Home Rule is regarded as a part and parcel of the traditional policy of the Liberal Party, a sort of shibboleth to be uttered in order to enter the Liberal ranks; but this is quite contrary to the fact. British constituencies have ever been opposed to the demands of the Irish Nationalists. British representatives defeated the Home Rule Bill of 1886, and the third reading of the Bill of 1893 was carried by Irish votes, there being a British majority of twenty-three against the measure.

The leaders of the Liberal Party, especially Mr. Gladstone, were strongly opposed to the Nationalist demands up to the close of 1885, when Mr. Gladstone surrendered to Mr. Parnell, the Irish leader, and to the party whom he had previously described as "marching through rapine to the dismemberment of the Empire."

1885.

The year 1885 was an eventful one. The Reform Bill of 1884, which extended the franchise to the counties, and gave the vote to the rural householders, made a general election necessary. During its progress Home Rule was referred to in general terms as one of the many questions before the electors, but there was nothing in the shape of any agreement with regard to it.

Mr. Gladstone's utterances with respect to it were very vague, inconclusive and uncertain. In his election address he said that the time had come to reform the administrative abuses connected with Dublin Castle. He appealed strongly to the constituencies to give him a majority quite independent of the Irish vote.

> "It will be," he said, "a vital danger to the country and to the empire if at a time when a demand from Ireland for larger powers of self-government is to be dealt with, there is not in Parliament a party totally independent of the Irish vote."

Time after time he insisted that such a position as this would not be safe for the country—that it would be a disastrous position for Mr. Parnell to hold the balance between parties in the House of Commons. He pointed out how difficult it would be to carry the Liberal Party and the British nation in favour of an Irish legislature. (Letter to Lord Rosebery November 13th, 1885.)

Mr. Chamberlain, while excluding Home Rule as impossible, urged on the Government the adoption of a plan of local government for Ireland by the creation of representative county boards

and a central board or council for all Ireland, with large administrative and executive powers.

Mr. Gladstone was strongly in favour of this scheme, and wrote (letter to Lord Granville, October 8th, 1885) that he and Mr. Chamberlain "are pretty well agreed on the Irish question." Unfortunately, the majority of the Cabinet rejected the scheme, much to the regret of Mr. Gladstone, who wrote: "I have seen my way pretty well to the minor and rejected plan, but the idea of the wider one puzzles me."

The pollings in the general election took place in November and December, 1885, when the newly-enfranchised rural householders voted. The result of the pollings was that the Liberals were returned by a considerable majority, but not one independent of the Irish Nationalists, for which Mr. Gladstone had so earnestly pleaded, and which, to his mortification, he did not get. Had there been such a majority it is fairly certain that the Prime Minister would not have given himself over to the Nationalists so completely as he afterwards did.

In Ireland Mr. Parnell ordered his followers to vote against the Liberal Party, with a result that not a single Liberal was returned for that country.

Mr. Parnell's policy was a simple one. It was to keep the number of Liberals and Conservatives on a level, so that he might hold the balance between the two parties.

In December there were statements in the Press and general rumours to the effect that Mr. Gladstone had accepted Home Rule, for which, however, he denied all responsibility. But Lord Hartington was uneasy at what was termed the "Hawarden Kite," and wrote to Mr. Gladstone on the subject. The result of his communications was that he, Lord Hartington, was enabled to state in a public letter (December 20th) that no proposals of Liberal policy respecting the Nationalist demands had been made to him.

Mr. Gladstone so late as December 30th stated that he was "conditionally in favour of at least examining the Nationalist demands." So matters stood at the end of 1885.

1886.

On January 12th, 1886, Parliament met, a Conservative Government being in office. I moved an amendment to the Address to the Crown in favour of the agricultural labourers, allotments, small holdings, etc. The amendment was carried, Lord Salisbury resigned, and Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister, and proceeded to form his Government.

Mr. Gladstone spoke, and voted in favour of the amendment. As a matter of fairness and honour a Government is bound to deal with the question which had placed them in power, but Mr. Gladstone completely ignored it, and, as events showed, gave his whole attention to Home Rule, a question which had not been before the constituencies in any definite form. This, in my opinion, was a deliberate betrayal of the interests of a class

of men whose hard lot and poverty-stricken condition at that time entitled them to a kind consideration and a more just treatment.

Mr. Chamberlain was invited by Mr. Gladstone to join the new Government, but he declined to do so on account of the Irish policy which, it was rumoured, the new Prime Minister intended to carry out. Mr. Gladstone, however, assured him that he had not, up to that date, formed any definite plan, but that he had only committed himself to examination and inquiry, and on that assurance Mr. Chamberlain consented to join the Ministry.

It is difficult to understand how such an assurance could have been given. Parliament met on February 18th, with Mr. Gladstone as Prime Minister; on March 26th Mr. Chamberlain and others left the Government; and on April 8th a complete Home Rule Bill for Ireland was placed before the House of Commons. Eight days later a Land Bill for Ireland was also introduced. It is hard to believe that in such short intervals any effective examination and inquiry could have taken place, or that there was time to decide on the provisions of, and to draft, such large, complicated and far-reaching measures as these two Bills proved to be.

Members of the House of Commons as well as the constituencies were taken aback at the suddenness with which these proposals were sprung upon them, and at the secrecy with which they had been prepared without consulting the party. It appears from evidence that not even his colleagues were consulted by Mr. Gladstone as to the provisions of the Home Rule Bill; and that it was not until March 13th, about three weeks before its introduction, that the measure was mentioned in the Cabinet!

After the introduction of the Bill, and the definite proposals of Mr. Gladstone became known, there was a vigorous opposition to the measure throughout the country. Mr. Bright wrote to Mr. Gladstone, saying:—

> "I am not in favour of Home Rule or the creation of a Dublin Parliament. I cannot consent to a measure which is so offensive to the whole Protestant population of Ireland and to the whole sentiment of Ulster as far as its loyal Protestant people are concerned. . . . Your policy of surrender to them (Nationalists) could only place more power in their hands to war with greater effect against the unity of the three kingdoms, with no increase of good to the Irish people. . . . The Bill will have the support of the rebel members, it will be opposed by a majority from Great Britain, and by a most hostile vote from all that is loyal in Ulster. . . . If a majority support you it will be one composed in effect of men who for six years past have insulted the Queen, torn down the national flag, etc."

In the same month the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, then in the height of his influence with the Nonconformists, wrote:—

> "I feel especially the wrong to be done to our Ulster brethren. What have they done to be thus cast off? The whole scheme is full of dangers and absurdities as if it came from a madman."

It was evident to the British people that to have two Parliaments and two executives in these small islands of ours was absurd; and that to have a separate Home Office, Treasury, Education, etc., not controlled by the Imperial Parliament was to confer on Ireland all the attributes of an independent nation, and must be a source of constant irritation and danger, and that continual conflict in legislation must be the inevitable result.

On May 31st, when the Bill seemed to hang in the balance, Mr. Chamberlain called a meeting of Liberals to consider what action they should take. Fifty-five members attended. The question arose whether they should vote against the Bill or, from loyalty to Mr. Gladstone, abstain from voting. If they abstained the Bill would be carried by a very small majority. Mr. Bright, who could not attend the meeting, wrote to say that he should certainly vote against the Bill. After a full discussion the meeting unanimously decided to take the same course.

From that moment the fate of the measure was decided.

REJECTION OF THE BILL.

On the motion for the second reading of the Bill, May 17th, Lord Hartington moved its rejection. On the division (June 7th), in a full House, 313 members voted for the second reading and 343 against. The Bill was thus defeated by a majority of thirty. No less than ninety-three Liberals voted with the majority against the Bill. This decision was ratified by the general election which followed on July 27th, 1886, the Unionists being returned with a majority of 118. Mr. Gladstone resigned, and Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister, and remained in office till the dissolution of Parliament in June, 1892.

THE UNIONIST PARTY.

By his ill-fated measure Mr. Gladstone had succeeded in destroying the Liberal Party, never again to be restored on its old lines. The dissentient Liberals joined the Conservatives, and thus was formed the Unionist Party. The remaining Liberals joined the Irish Nationalists, and became the Gladstonian or Separatist Party. It was at the time predicted that the Unionist Alliance would not last six months. It has, however, lasted twenty-five years, the two wings of the party showing the greatest loyalty to each other. It is now stronger than ever, and more determined than ever to maintain the Union at all costs.

Discussions, letters, and speeches by both sides followed the rejection of the Bill. Mr. John Bright, writing to a correspondent in Birmingham early in 1887, said:—

> "I am asked why I cannot trust the leaders. I have seen the course of the Nationalist leaders for six years past, and have read their speeches, and see in them only hatred to England and disloyalty to the Crown. . . . Am I to trust these people, and make them masters of one of the three kingdoms?"

In a letter to Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Bright said:—

> "It is to the eighty-six Irish members that the great English Liberal Party is called upon to abandon its past policy and to prostrate itself before an odious, illegal, and immoral conspiracy, and to this conspiracy grant a Parliament in Dublin. We are to transfer the government of two millions of the Irish people, who are as loyal as the people in Warwickshire."

He adds:—

> "If Mr. Gladstone's great name were withdrawn from the Bill I doubt if twenty members outside the Irish Party could be found to support it."

The rejection of the Bill by such a decided majority was a proof of the hostility of Great Britain to the measure.

Mr. Gladstone had exercised his marvellous powers, his unrivalled eloquence, his patient industry, all to no effect. Further, he had captured the political machine. The National Liberal Federation, hitherto so hostile to Home Rule, completely turned round at his bidding; and almost the whole of the local Liberal Associations followed suit. This was a striking example of the Prime Minister's influence and power as a leader.

I may mention as a fact showing the former opposition of the Liberal Party to Home Rule, that I was president of the National Liberal Association before Mr. Gladstone's conversion. I spoke, wrote and voted against his coercion measures, and on other occasions touching his Irish policy, not, however, as president but as a private member. Mr. Schnadhorst, the able secretary of the Federation, wrote me saying that my action was causing the Liberal Party to be suspected of Irish leanings. I was, though president, not even summoned to the next annual meeting, and was practically deposed from the presidency. In 1886 Mr. Schnadhorst again wrote me, but in quite another strain. He used every argument to induce me to follow Mr. Gladstone. He said

> "you were right before and the Federation was wrong,"

and that I should be right again by taking the course he urged. I replied, stating that though I had opposed Mr. Gladstone's drastic policy in dealing with Ireland, and had advocated an extension of local government and a thorough reform of the unjust Irish land system, I was not, and never had been, a Home Ruler as Home Rule was defined in Mr. Gladstone's Bill; that I could not adopt the Prime Minister's change of front with the agility and suddenness which he and the Liberal Federation had done; and that I had decided to follow Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain.

HOME RULE BILL, 1893.

In June and July, 1892, Parliament having been dissolved, a general election took place, the result of which was to give Mr. Gladstone a majority of forty. The new Parliament met, and a vote of want of confidence was carried against the Government by a majority of forty. Lord Salisbury resigned, and

on August 4th Mr. Gladstone became again Prime Minister, when he immediately proceeded to prepare a Home Rule Bill for the coming session of 1893.

This Bill, with some exceptions, was the same as that of 1886. It was introduced on February 13th, and the motion for the second reading was made on April 6th. As soon as its provisions became known, the opposition to the measure in Great Britain was stronger and more pronounced than even that against the Bill of 1886.

The Ulster people held a huge demonstration by means of a procession of above 100,000 persons; and a great meeting of 15,000 persons, presided over by the Lord Mayor, was held at Belfast, at which the Bill was condemned as a calamity.

During the debates on the second reading the Irish loyalists' societies sent above 1,200 delegates to London to declare their determination not to submit to Home Rule. It was stated by the deputation that of 621 non-Episcopalian Ministers, nearly all had been Liberals and supporters of Mr. Gladstone up to 1886, but not one of them would support him in his Home Rule policy.

In the City of London a large and enthusiastic meeting was held at the Guildhall, the Lord Mayor presiding, when the Bill was publicly burnt in front of the building. A great demonstration was held in the Albert Hall, above 10,000 persons being present. Crowded meetings to denounce the measure were held at Covent Garden and in the Metropolitan Music Hall.

In the Provinces the same spirit prevailed. Meetings to protest against the Bill were held in Manchester, Birmingham and other large towns.

On the other hand, there was no similar manifestation in favour of the Bill in any quarter. Almost the only demonstration in its favour was in the form of a procession to Hyde Park, where meetings were addressed by Mr. Dillon, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, and other Nationalists.

During the Easter recess and Whitsuntide, Unionist members were busy on platforms in opposition to the Bill, while no prominent Gladstonian, with two exceptions, ventured to say a word in support of it. The followers of the Ministry maintained the same silence in the House. They were ignorant of what changes in the Bill Mr. Gladstone might make from day to day, and therefore did not wish to commit themselves to statements which they might afterwards have to retract. The whole situation was subject to the caprices of a single man, qualified by the demands of the Nationalist leader.

The discussion on the second reading of the Bill was closured on April 21st, and carried by a majority of forty-three, amid loud cheers from the Irish benches.

BILL IN COMMITTEE.

The Bill was driven through Committee in "water-tight" compartments by the aid of the guillotine. Out of the forty clauses and seven schedules of which the measure was originally composed, only about ten clauses were discussed at all. The remaining clauses and all the schedules were, by means of the closure, forced through the House without any debate whatever!

It is important to notice (see "Notes") that in the divisions on nearly all of the principal clauses there was a majority of British members against the Government, but that they were overridden by Nationalist votes.

In a short speech, July 27, before the guillotine fell on the Committee stage, Mr. Chamberlain taunted the followers of the Government with their abject submission:—

> "If the Prime Minister," he said, "called white they say it is good, if he then calls black they say it is better."

The Unionists were disgusted at the complete and arbitrary suppression of debate. Scenes of personal conflict between them and the Nationalists took place, in which blows were freely given and received, and, for a time, the House of Commons was a veritable pandemonium.

THIRD READING.

On the motion for the third reading, Mr. Courtney, now Lord Courtney, moved the rejection of the Bill. After three days' discussion the motion for rejection was closured (September 1st), and defeated by a majority of thirty-four of the whole House. But there was a majority of twenty-three British members against the Bill. If England and Wales were taken alone, the majority against the Government was forty-eight. In short, the measure was practically carried through all its stages in direct opposition to the majority of British representatives.

The Bill was then sent to the Lords, who immediately threw it out; and it is interesting to note that, of sixty-two Peers created by Mr. Gladstone during his terms of office, only twenty-four recorded their votes for the Bill.

One thing is noteworthy in connection with the proceedings in Ireland. While the Bill was received with such determined hostility by the Loyalists, there was altogether a lack of enthusiasm on the part of those of the Irish people who were supposed to be so favourable to it. There was no rejoicing when the Bill finally passed through the Commons, and no excitement or expression of indignation at its rejection by the Lords.

UNION OF HEARTS.

Many of the British public were in favour of Home Rule because they were told, and they believed, that under it Ireland would settle down in peace and contentment, and that "the eternal Irish question" would be settled.

The tactics of the Nationalists, when speaking to English audiences, are to show that Home Rule would turn the Irish into a loyal people. Mr. Gladstone asserted, and no doubt believed, that the "union of hearts" would be secured, and that what he called the "Irish Demand" would be satisfied by his Home Rule Bill. These hopes and expectations, however, were utterly delusive.

Mr. John Redmond, in his speech on the third reading of the 1893 Bill, said:—

> "As the Bill stands no man in his senses can regard it as a full and satisfactory settlement of the Irish question. The word provisional so to speak has been stamped in red ink across every page of the Bill, and if he were asked to accept it as a final settlement he should feel bound to vote against the second reading. He recognised," he said, "that the Bill was offered as a compromise and accepted as such," and added, "that England had no right to ask from Irish members any guarantee of finality in its acceptance."

Mr. Joseph Devlin, M.P., one of Mr. Redmond's chief lieutenants, now secretary of the United Irish League, in a speech in America, declared:—

> "I believe in the separation of Ireland from England, until Ireland is as free as the air we breathe."

Again, Mr. T. M. Kettle, speaking at New York, after referring to further demands, said:—

> "These are our tactics. If you are to take a fortress first take the outworks."

In the face of these and a number of other like utterances, it is mere folly to talk of the "union of hearts" or of regarding Home Rule, as it has been put forward, as a settlement of the Irish question. It is not a matter of satisfying the Irish people, but of satisfying the American-Irish paymasters and supporters of the Nationalist movement.

NEW GENERATION OF VOTERS.

Since the introduction of the previous two measures into the House of Commons a new generation of voters has come into public life, whose knowledge of the question is traditional, and who are largely ignorant of the details and principles of these measures. These new voters are liable to be misled by the assurances given to them that Home Rule is only a question of allowing the Irish to "manage their own affairs," of "dealing with questions purely Irish," and other plausible statements of a like kind.

The Irish already possess the same control of their local affairs as the English and Scots have over theirs. They have county councils, district councils, and other powers conferred on them by the Irish Local Government Act passed by the Unionist Party, 1898. Moreover, they had an annual grant of nearly three-quarters of a million sterling to assist them in carrying out that Act. Local government, however extended, means the

administration of laws made by the Imperial Legislature: but a Parliament—sub-ordinate or co-ordinate—can make laws according to its will—a difference which should always be borne in mind.

As regards political powers, the Irish have about thirty representatives in the House of Commons more than they are entitled to. In addition to all this they have many advantages which the British do not possess. They pay no rates for their police except in Dublin and Belfast, where there is a rate levied for a small portion of the cost of the extra police which are necessary in these two cities. They pay no rates for the education of their children, for prisons, reformatories, industrial schools and other institutions.

Over and above all this are the vast sums voted by the Imperial Parliament to assist the Irish tenants to secure the freehold of their holdings, an advantage the English farmer seeks for in vain. There are large grants for the promotion of light railways, to the Congested Districts Board, to carry out the Local Government Act of 1898, and for other purposes. In fact, for some years past Ireland has been the most-favoured part of the kingdom, and has only had to ask and have. The Imperial Parliament has most willingly given this help for the development of Ireland as being the poorer part of the kingdom, and will continue to do so as long as the legislative union is maintained. Under Home Rule all these benefits would cease, as the resources of Ireland itself could not possibly bear the cost of them. There is satisfactory evidence to show that the Irish people themselves recognise and appreciate the improvement in their condition caused by this assistance. But on the part of the Nationalist leaders there is neither thanks nor recognition.

A NEW IRELAND.

The dealings with Ireland in former days—especially with regard to the land—form a dark page in English history; and, though all injustice and tyranny have been fully remedied, it is not surprising that the memory of them still rankles in the minds of many of the Irish people. The Nationalists trade on these memories. The political Irish mendicants in America, in order to unbutton the pockets of their hearers, ignore the remedial legislation which has taken place. They dwell on the evils of the past as if they still existed, and represent Ireland as a down-trodden country suffering unutterable wrongs under the tyranny of British rule. Such statements as these are more or less historically true, but as applied to the Ireland of recent years they are shameful falsehoods.

Mr. T. W. Russell told the members of the Eighty Club recently (1911) that the Ireland they were about to see was a very different Ireland from that of the 'seventies and 'eighties. He did not tell them that the improvements they saw were wholly due to Unionist action.

Since the time of the Home Rule Bills of 1886 and 1893, the condition, social and economic, of Ireland has been altogether changed by the remedial legislation which has taken place in that country. This is shown by every test that can be applied. By the increase of the textile, shipping, brewery and other industries; by the rise in the assessment to the income-tax; by the increase of deposits in the Post-Office and Trustee Savings Banks, which have more than doubled, and of those in the joint stock banks, which have increased 50 per cent.; by the striking growth of railway receipts; by the improvement in communication through the building of light railways; by the vast development of the external trade of Ireland in the form of exports mainly to Great Britain; and, above all, by the steady improvement in Ireland's great industry—that of agriculture—which is and must be the mainstay of Irish prosperity.

By Mr. Wyndham's wise and statesmanlike Act of 1903 the land question was settled to the satisfaction of the Irish people. Under the Land Purchase Acts the Imperial Treasury has already advanced above seventy millions sterling, and is liable for a total of 150 millions to enable the Irish tenants to become their own landlords. Nearly 300,000 tenants have been placed in this position, and the demand for Home Rule has lessened to the degree that the operation of the Act has increased.

A renewal of the plan of campaign for the extermination of landlords is no longer possible now that farmers are their own landlords.

The Nationalist leaders saw this hindrance to the Home Rule movement with great anxiety, and they most willingly assisted Mr. Birrell in passing the Land Bill of 1909, which has effectually delayed, if not stopped for the time, the operation of the Act of 1903.

At a convention held by different parties connected with land, held in Dublin on October 11th, this year (1911), a remarkable event occurred. Tenant farmers most of them—in name at least, Nationalists—who were still waiting to buy their holdings, bitterly complained of the Act of 1909. They urged the landlords present to induce their representatives in Parliament to do the best they could "to get the land purchase going again." They were referred to their own Nationalist members, who had full power to do so. But they replied:—

> "What is the use of going to them? Every one knows that they don't want purchase to go on."

Mr. Wm. O'Brien, on more than one occasion, has bitterly upbraided "Messrs. Dillon, Birrell and Co.," for bringing about this result by their Act of 1909. In a letter to the *Times* of August 4th, 1911, Mr. O'Brien deals with what he calls the "Birrell-cum-Dillon" Act, passed, as he says, "with the complicity of Mr. Redmond's party." He declares that the process

of converting Irish tenants into proprietors "has been almost done to death by the Act of 1909," and adds

> "that under the circumstances it is a joke scarcely worthy of Mr. Birrell's happiest vein to represent to the guileless English public that the progress of agrarian settlement is going merrily ahead, knowing as he must that his own Act has knocked it ruthlessly on the head."

The great improvement in agriculture, the outcome of the system of ownerships created by the Unionist Land Act of 1903; the operations under the Congested Districts Act, the Labourer's Cottage Acts, the Local Government Act of 1898, and other measures—all carried out with lavish expenditure by the Imperial Parliament—have created a New Ireland, which is now one of the most prosperous parts of the United Kingdom, and as far as the common people are concerned—probably more prosperous than any other part. The people are better off, and their standard of life and comfort has been raised. The miserable mud cabins are disappearing. Tens of thousands of improved dwellings have been erected, under the Cottage Acts, each cottage, with an acre of land around it, and let at from 1/6 to 2/- a week rent.

As we have stated, to the degree these reforms have been carried out the cry for Home Rule has become less and less heard.

There is one proof of this more convincing than any other. It is that of the pocket. The Irish people, in spite of great pressure on the part of the United Irish League, have practically ceased giving any money support to the Nationalist agitation. Mr. Redmond himself has to admit the fact. Speaking two years ago, he states that though the Irish people are much better off, and have plenty of money to spend on sports and other things that interest them, it is discreditable that they will give nothing to the Irish Parliamentary Fund, though they are well able to do so.

At a meeting last year (1910), reported in the Dublin papers, he said:—

> "I tell you here—there is no reason why we should not be perfectly frank—the Irish Nationalist Party would have been bankrupt in this election were it not for the success of Mr. T. P. O'Connor's mission to America, which yielded 50,000 dollars."

These American dollars are forthcoming mainly from the avowed enemies of England, in response to lying appeals made through the *Irish World* by the notorious Patrick Ford of dynamite fame, whom Mr. Redmond describes as the "grand old veteran," who has done so much for Ireland.

It is a humiliating position for a British Government to be threatened and coerced by a Nationalist faction that could not exist without the money support of the enemies of our country over-sea. It would be the very depth of humiliation for the

British electors on both sides to tamely submit to the arrogant threats recently uttered by the leader of that faction:—

> "We don't care," he said, "a snap of the finger for either political party, for England or for any political leader. If they refuse to do our will we can turn the Liberals out as easily as we can reduce a Conservative Government to impotence. The situation is ideal for our purpose."

In the same strain later on he declared:—

> "Whether the Liberals are sincere or not, we have got the power to do it; we will make them toe the line."

The whole situation is one of bluff that would not be tolerated for a moment in any other country in Europe, and which a firm and patriotic Government in England would speedily put an end to. But unfortunately we have a Government under whose rule the honour of Parliament is being smirched, and the unity of the kingdom bartered away in an underhand, skulking manner for the sake of place and power.

It was the sorry spectacle of this unholy alliance and its object that caused, a short time ago, the uncontrollable outburst of indignation in the House of Commons on the part of the Unionists, when a Prime Minister of England was assailed by loud and repeated cries of "Traitor!"

THE REAL IRELAND.

The Irish are a lovable people, keen, witty and emotional. Those of us who at intervals visit the country meet with unfailing courtesy and kindness. The Irish are also an honest people if let alone. The repayments by instalments of the advances made under the Land Acts are most satisfactory, there being scarcely a defaulter. In spite of the infamous cruelties by which the "No Rent" manifesto was enforced by the Irish Land League, numbers of Irish farmers, at the risk of their lives, paid by stealth the rents they owed.

The former discontent that existed among the Irish, and which made them an easy prey to political agitators, was based on the state of the land question, a question that was associated in their minds with Home Rule. The position is now quite changed. The question of the land being now settled to the satisfaction of the Irish people, Home Rule is but little heard of, and, as stated, financial support of it is not forthcoming.

Ireland is a striking illustration of the potent influence of land tenure on the economic and social condition of every country. Mr. Lecky clearly points this out:—

> "Land," he says, "being an irremovable property subject to Government control, has always proved the best pledge of the loyalty of its possessor, and its acquisition never fails to diffuse through a disaffected class conservative and orderly habits" ("History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century," Vol. 1).

It would be well if England, before it is too late, would learn and profit by the lesson.

THE EIGHTY CLUB.

Recently (in September, 1911) the members of the "Eighty" Club visited Ireland. These personally-conducted gentlemen were welcomed to Ulster by bands of music playing the tune of "A Nation Once Again," but those among them with any historical knowledge must know that Ireland never was a nation. It is difficult to see the use of their visit. Any information they may have got will probably be useless, as they have given up their private judgment and pledged themselves to support any Home Rule Bill which the Government may decide to bring in. As Sir Edward Carson points out, they are seeking for evidence after having given their verdict. Some things, however, they have seen which must have cast doubts on that verdict, though few among them, on their return to England, will have the courage and candour to admit it. They have seen proofs of the determined opposition to Home Rule on the part of the loyalist population of Ulster. The great demonstration at Craigavon, which happened during this visit, was an indication of the strength and nature of that opposition.

On the other hand, they have found no enthusiasm in favour of Home Rule except on the part of the disloyal faction who are engaged in a movement which is supported by funds contributed by the over-sea enemies of our country, who have sworn "to bring England to her knees"—without which support the movement they are advocating would collapse in a very short time. Further, if these visitors had an open mind, and were sincere in their desire for information, they would have to confess that they had not discovered a single grievance in Ireland which was not common to other parts of the nation.

When the "Eighty" Club arrived at Cork they received an address signed by over 150 Protestant farmers. The address stated that under the Irish land legislation, passed by a Unionist Government, over one-half of the Irish farmers had been transformed from tenants into prospective freeholders; that in consequence the country had advanced in prosperity by leaps and bounds; but that in order to preserve and complete this prosperity it was essential to retain the connection and protection of England. It declared that these benefits could not have been secured under Home Rule, as an Irish Government could not find funds to carry out the land purchase scheme. The address concluded as follows:—

> "We ask you to use your great influence towards this desirable end (the completion of land purchase), so that the present agitation will cease and the majority of our countrymen will become with us loyal subjects." "Complete the land purchase," said one speaker, "and the demand for Home Rule will die out."

Now agriculture is the largest and most important industry in Ireland. The great bulk, two-thirds, of the population are engaged in or connected with it, and on its prosperity the welfare of the country depends. Surely some of the members of the "Eighty" Club must be struck by the statements placed before them, and see that that prosperity can be secured only by a legislative union with the richer part of the kingdom, and must decline under Home Rule. Looking, therefore, from the standpoint of the good of Ireland, will the visitors on their return to England either deny the facts placed before them or free themselves from party shackles and admit that the opinions they held were premature, mistaken, and based on imperfect knowledge?

But the astute Nationalists were not slow to improve the occasion of the "Eighty" Club visit by a display of moderation, and by giving an impression that there was not much opposition to Home Rule, and that Ulster was a secondary consideration. Mr. Redmond, in his blandest manner, assured these "innocents abroad"

> "that all Ireland wanted was to be permitted to take her proper place as a contented portion of the Empire."

The actions of the Nationalists show too well that this smooth-spoken palaver about loyalty is mere trothless cant. During the Boer War the news reached the House of Commons one night of a defeat of our soldiers with heavy loss. That disaster was welcomed with cheers of joy and exultation from the Nationalist benches. The people of Great Britain, especially those whose friends and relations were numbered among the killed and wounded in that disastrous fight, will never forget or forgive the brutal and unmanly conduct of the Redmondites on the occasion referred to; nor will the British people generally fail to take at their proper worth Nationalist expressions of loyalty.

The hard-headed Ulster men, however, were not led away by Mr. Redmond's blandishments, adopted for the occasion, or deceived by the farce, however well played, that was placed before them. They remember the arrogant demands, the threats and warnings uttered by Mr. Redmond on so many previous occasions, and which have never been retracted. They simply ignored the visitors who had given a blind adhesion to a Government which, for the sake of office, is under the control of the Nationalists, who, in their turn, are at the beck of Mr. Patrick Ford and the American-Irish.

They are quite aware of the danger of their position from the fact that, though it is the first duty of the Government of a civilised country to stand by and protect the loyal and law-abiding part of the population, this country has for the moment a Government which is ignoring that duty, and is practically taking sides with a foreign-supported conspiracy against the unity and integrity of the nation.

THE NEXT HOME RULE BILL.

Recently (1911) Mr. Churchill said:—

> "We intend to pass Home Rule during this Parliament."

He did not state the nature and provisions of the measure they intended thus to force into law. As on the previous two occasions, constituencies are to be kept in the dark. They only know that, whether they like it or not, a measure which is not before the country, probably—at the moment of writing—not even drafted, is to be forced through Parliament by the aid of an accidental majority assisted by Nationalist votes.

Mr. Birrell, however, speaking at Oxford in May, 1911, informed us that their Home Rule Bill would be like Mr. Gladstone's Bill of 1893, subject to such alterations and modifications as time had shown to be wise.

But it is not to Mr. Birrell that we must look for information, but to the leaders of the Nationalists, who are masters of the situation. Mr. Condon, M.P., speaking in February, 1911, said:—

> "I tell you with authority and knowledge that the coming Home Rule Bill will be a broader and more generous measure than the Bill of 1886 or of 1893."

At a meeting of the United Irish League this year (1911) the following resolution was passed:—

> "That no settlement of the Irish question will be acceptable which does not confer on the Irish people the right of full self-government through an Irish Nationalist Parliament with an Executive responsible thereto."

This resolution embodies the minimum demand which Mr. Redmond has made over and over again.

> "Less than that," he says, "we will not accept";

and later on he adds:—

> "Get this first, and then ask for more."

In almost brutal language, with the air of a conquerer, he states his intention to make the Government "toe the line," and yield to his demands. At the last two general elections Radical candidates succeeded in keeping Home Rule in the background, or in mixing it up with other questions, and no doubt this plan will be adopted by Home Rulers during the coming campaign. But this policy of concealment and evasion cannot long be continued, as there is little doubt that the Government will be obliged to produce their promised Bill early in 1912, and it is then their troubles will be acute.

It is now (1911) eighteen years since the 1893 Bill was introduced. The difficulties which surrounded that measure have been enormously increased by the legislative improvements in Ireland, the lessened demand for Home Rule, the enormous liability which has been incurred by the Imperial Exchequer in the interests of the Irish farmer, and the liability for the payment of Irish old-age pensions, and by other legislation already referred to. If the National Insurance Bill becomes law, another heavy burden would be laid on an already over-weighted Irish Government. Home Rule in the abstract is one thing, but in the concrete form of a Bill it is quite another matter. There are many perplexing questions that will have to be solved, and the solution of which in the Bill will probably be of such a kind as to prevent many of the British public, who now shout for Home Rule, from agreeing to it.

The financial arrangements, showing whether the cost of Home Rule is to be borne by the Irish who desire it, or is to come out of the pockets of the British taxpayer; the question of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament; of the retention of Irish members at Westminster; and the position of Ulster, will all have to be dealt with by definite provisions in the Bill.

SUPREMACY OF THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

In Committee Mr. Bartley (see "Notes," Page 37) moved an amendment to the first clause in the last Home Rule Bill, asking that it should be stated in the clause that "the Irish Legislature should be subordinate to the Imperial Parliament," so that it might be in agreement with what all Gladstonian members professed to desire.

The Nationalists resisted the amendment, and declared the Irish Parliament should be subject only to the vote of the Crown. The amendment was defeated by a majority of thirty-five. But the votes of British members showed a majority of eighteen against the Government.

It was abundantly shown during the debates in Committee that no matter what declarations were made in the preamble or in the clauses of the Bill with regard to supremacy, all safeguards were worthless so long as there existed an Irish Executive responsible only to the Irish Parliament. An Executive so appointed would be far more important and dangerous than the Parliament itself. Even in Grattan's Parliament the Executive was not responsible to the Irish Legislature. The proposed Executive would have the appointment and command of the police and every other officer to carry out its decrees, against which there would be no appeal. It would appoint the Paymaster-General, who would do nothing and pay nothing except by the order of his superiors.

Under such an arrangement it would pass the wit of man to frame a provision to secure the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. It would mean separation or worse than separation, because the British Parliament would retain vast responsibilities and no power.

Sir Henry James, in a conclusive speech, declared that: "We should have no power to defeat the errors of an Irish Parliament, and the defaults of an Irish Executive, except by force of arms."

It was contended that the supremacy of the Irish Parliament was guaranteed by the powers conferred on the Exchequer Judges, but the question was asked, but no answer given, how, with an Irish Executive responsible only to the Irish Legislature, could any decisions and verdicts of Judges against the Government, be carried out?

Mr. Asquith made a remarkable and definite statement on this head. "It is taxing our incredulity," he said, "to say that supremacy is not secured, when we have reserved under the Bill complete and absolute control of the military and naval forces, and that a power so equipped will not be able to enforce to the last extent any law which the Imperial Parliament may pass." All this is true, but it means armed intervention and civil war!

On every stage of the controversy every impartial man should ask himself why—on what grounds—should all these difficulties and dangers be incurred?

FINANCIAL.

The financial proposals in the Home Rule Bill of 1893 were very complicated, and were changed several times during the progress of the measure. It was admitted on all hands that the increased expenses under Home Rule would be such as to make it impossible for an Irish Government to pay its way without British help, and it certainly would not be able to raise money on credit. The cost of the police, of old-age pensions, public works, schools, prisons, asylums, reformatories, grants in aid of rates, and other liabilities amounting to about five millions sterling per annum, now paid out of the Imperial Exchequer, would have to be paid by the Irish Government.

In 1886 Mr. Gladstone held that the proportion to be paid by Ireland was one-fifteenth of the whole Imperial revenue, but he afterwards fixed the contribution at one-twenty-fifth.

The late Lord Wolverhampton, then Sir Henry Fowler, got over the difficulty by declaring that: "The English people would not reject Home Rule on the miserable consideration of £ s. d."

Altogether, the debates revealed the utter confusion of the pecuniary arrangements under the Bill, and showed that, unless Ireland was to be bankrupt and ruined, Home Rule was impossible from the financial point of view alone. With two Exchequers independent of one another, a financial mess must ensue. All this the people of the "real Ireland" are beginning to see; and it should be the duty of the Unionist Party both in Great Britain and Ireland to fully explain.

Amid all the ambiguity of the financial proposals in the 1893 Bill, one thing was clear—that a heavy initial sum would have to be granted by the British Exchequer for setting up Home Rule, and a substantial subsidy for keeping it going. Mr. Birrell, speaking at Oxford on May 3, 1911, said that

> "the Government were engaged in a searching actuarial inquiry to find out the financial position, and a new scheme would have to be devised if Home Rule were to have any chance of success, and he thought it would be found possible to make permanent proposals which would not be open to the charge of being impossible or absurd. In any case, he thought it would be a tight fit."

In a later speech at Ilfracombe he told us that the financial question would be dealt with in no niggardly spirit. Mr. Edgar Crammond, in a masterly article in the *Nineteenth Century*, for October, 1911, shows, from close calculations made, that Ireland ought to pay at least 5 per cent. of the cost of the Army, Navy and National Debt, which would amount to five millions sterling a year—a sum which is considerably more than Mr. Gladstone proposed in his Bills of 1886 and 1893.

In consequence, however, of all the heavy charges now borne by the Imperial Government, the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer would find himself with a heavy deficiency instead of a surplus, a deficiency estimated at many millions sterling—which would have to be made good every year out of the pockets of the British taxpayer.

It will be interesting to see how in the coming Home Rule Bill this financial difficulty is dealt with. The British taxpayer will probably say that if the Irish want Home Rule they must pay for it, and that he will not consent to the breaking up of the kingdom, much less paying the cost of doing it.

RETENTION OF IRISH MEMBERS.

One of the most serious questions of all connected with Home Rule is that of the retention of Irish members at Westminster. The public will wait with the greatest interest to see how it is dealt with in the coming Bill. In the 1886 Bill as it was introduced the Irish were excluded from the Imperial Parliament. The Unionists opposed this, as it meant separation

and nothing else. Though the retention of the Irish was fraught with difficulty it was at least a symbol of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. In the Bill of 1893 it was provided that eighty Irish members should sit at Westminster, but they were not to vote on British affairs.

This was described as the "in and out" method. Under it a British Government might find itself through the Irish vote in a majority to-day and in a minority to-morrow. In the debate the utter absurdity and impracticability of the plan was shown up by many amusing incidents. Mr. Chamberlain declared, amidst cheers, that if such a childish scheme had been proposed by any one except Mr. Gladstone it would be laughed out of the House in a single night. The proposal was so riddled with ridicule—which no one attempted to answer—that Mr. Gladstone was compelled to abandon it.

On July 12th he announced his decision to give the eighty Irish members power to vote on Bills, resolutions, motions and all other subjects. Mr. Gladstone made a long speech with obscure arguments in defence of this alteration. He admitted the difficulty and anomaly, but concluded with the decision that unlimited voting was the only method the Government could carry, and to which the House was inclined.

It was thus decided that the Irish should have complete control of their own affairs, and at the same time control of the affairs of Great Britain! The Unionists strongly resented this alteration, made suddenly and without warning. Mr. John Morley—now Lord Morley—speaking on the 1886 Bill, said: "You may depend upon it that there is nothing which can prevent the Irish, if they are retained at Westminster, from being the masters and arbiters of British policy, and of the rise and fall of the British administration."

Mr. Chamberlain quoted Mr. Gladstone's speech at Manchester, June 25th, 1886, in which he said:—

> "I will not be a party to a legislative body to manage Irish concerns and at the same time to have Irish members in London acting and voting on English and Scotch questions."

Yet this very provision was inserted in the Bill of 1893! Several of the Government's supporters rebelled against this ridiculous proposal. One of the most prominent declared:—

> "It is no longer simply a measure to give self-government to Ireland, but it becomes a proposal to take away self-government from Great Britain. . . . It is putting Great Britain under the hoof of Ireland."

Opposition to the change was, however, all in vain. The majority of Mr. Gladstone's followers had lost all independence, and were ready to vote for anything he proposed. Amidst unmannerly interruptions on the part of the Irish the closure was

moved, and the question that the eighty Irish members should have unlimited powers of voting was carried with a Government majority of the whole House, but with a British majority of thirty-four against it.

But the *exclusion* of Irish members from Westminster is equally difficult and impracticable. It would carry with it, as a logical right, the control by the Irish Parliament of the excise and customs as Mr. Gladstone originally proposed to give. Under exclusion no other arrangement would be possible, as it was evident that a British Parliament could not lay taxes and levy duties in Ireland without the Irish members being present to vote. This would be taxation without representation, and would inevitably lead to fresh troubles and complications. The Irish Parliament would insist, and under the circumstances would justly insist, on the control of the excise and customs, and would undoubtedly succeed in getting it.

In the consideration of all these difficulties it must be constantly borne in mind that by the establishment of an Irish Executive responsible to an Irish Legislature alone, the Imperial Parliament would surrender all control over the Irish Legislature. It would have no power left, except that of force, to carry out its views. It is true there would remain the veto of the Crown, but that need not be argued.

ULSTER.

If there were no other dangers in the way of the coalition Government, Ulster is the rock on which it would split. Ulster is the most prosperous and flourishing province in Ireland. Of the ports in the United Kingdom Belfast has grown to be the third in importance. By the remarkable activity, enterprise and industry of its inhabitants, Belfast has established manufactures of various kinds, textile, engineering, shipping, tobacco, shipbuilding, etc., which have grown into undertakings of world-wide fame.

Belfast has the largest shipbuilding establishment in the world, employing above 14,000 persons, whose wages amount to £25,000 a week.

Two tobacco firms alone in the city pay about 1¾ millions per annum in the form of duty. All these industries have grown under the protection of the Imperial Parliament, and it is easily understood how Ulster objects to be placed by force under a Dublin Parliament, elected by the influence of the priesthood, with Messrs. Dillon, Redmond and Devlin as managing directors.

The people of Ulster have declared that they will not have Home Rule of any kind on any terms; and that they will not obey the laws passed, or pay the taxes imposed by an Irish Parliament—one in which they would have no confidence, and in

which also they would be in a hopeless minority. They assert their right to remain, and their determination to remain under the Imperial Parliament, whose laws know no distinction of class or creed.

In 1892 an appeal was sent to British Nonconformists by their Irish brethren, strongly deprecating Home Rule, and saying:—

> "We do not believe that any guarantees moral or material could be devised which would safeguard the rights of minorities against the encroachments of a Roman Catholic majority endowed with legislative and executive powers."

Their position is fortified by the utterance of Cardinal Logue, who said:—

> "Of course, I am aware the doctrine has been preached in a very high quarter that a man can vote as he pleases, but that is a doctrine which Catholics can not hold."

This seems to confirm the statement of the Ulster Protestants, that "the priest commands the people of his flock."

The loyalists do not forget the threatenings as to what will happen to them when the Nationalists come into power.

> "I tell the people," said Mr. Dillon," that the time is close at hand when the police will be our servants. When we come out of the struggle we will remember who were the people's friends and who are the people's enemies, and deal out our rewards to the one and our punishments to the other."

Mr. Chamberlain quoted these threats in the House of Commons, and Mr. Dillon tried to excuse himself by saying that they were uttered in moments of indignation at what he called the "Mitchelstown murders." But Mr. Chamberlain showed that these so-called murders took place in 1887, while the threats were uttered in 1886, twelve months before!

The loyalists are told that they may now trust the Nationalists, but the crime, tyranny, moonlighting, boycotting, and other outrages on innocent persons which have accompanied Nationalist agitations, forbid any such trust as an act of criminal folly. We have only to read the Irish newspapers to see that the United Irish League is still active in molesting and injuring those who refuse to do its behests. If its warnings and threats are not sufficient sterner methods are adopted, and its victims are subject to violence and outrage.

In the address presented to the "Eighty" Club, at Cork, it was stated that

> "the Unionists in this county pay rates altogether out of proportion to their numbers, yet they and their children are excluded from nearly all the appointments made by the county and district councils."

Complaints were made in the address of grievances attributed to the Nationalist power in the local government. Members of the deputation brought forward concrete cases of the shameful boycotting of loyalists which was still going on in the county.

The Home Rule Party profess to regard the determined opposition of Ulster as mere boasting. Mr. Bryce urged the House to take no notice of Ulster or her bluster. Sir George Trevelyan, referring to Ulster's threats of resistance, said he attached little importance to it.

> "I am not afraid," he said, "of civil war in the least. These spouters in the North will not fight."

Mr. Redmond declared that the Protestants who would not accept Home Rule "must be overborne with the strong hand."

But the Ulster people hold the key of the position. Against their consent no system of Home Rule, if passed, could be put into successful operation. Any attempt to coerce them by an Irish Government would end in defeat, and any proposal on the part of an Imperial Government to send British troops to assist in coercing them would be universally denounced.

The Ulster people have begun the campaign in earnest. They have elected as their leader Sir Edward Carson, a man who has in a marked degree all the essential qualities of leadership. His recent (October, 1911) speech, free from all ambiguity or tinge of compromise, is vigorous and convincing, and inspires his followers with spirit and determination. Sir Edward, in the debate, August 9th, 1911, declared that:—

> "The Government were trying to pass Home Rule without submitting it to the electors of the United Kingdom, to pass it by a pure act of violence. The Government act of force would be resisted by force, and those who resisted would have constitutional right on their side."

The Protestant religious bodies in Ireland were unanimously against the Home Rule Bill of 1893. Meetings of Congregationalists, Wesleyans and other bodies passed resolutions against it, declaring that "their civil and religious liberties would not be safe."

In Scotland the Established Church, Free Church and Presbyterian Church sent petitions and copies of resolutions against it.

Above 1,200 delegates (as already mentioned) from Irish loyalist societies came over to express their determination not to have Home Rule. They stated that out of 621 ministers of the Irish non-Episcopalian Churches nearly all had been Liberals, and that not one would follow Mr. Gladstone in his Home Rule policy.

In 1893 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, Ireland, passed a strong resolution against a Parliament in Dublin. The General Synod of the Protestant Episcopalian Church in Ireland denounced the proposal for a separate legislature. A solemn League and Covenant for Ulster was formed to resist Irish Nationalist government.

There is no reason to suppose that these Protestant Churches are less strongly opposed to Home Rule now than they were in 1886 and 1893.

There is every reason for their distrust. In Committee on the Home Rule Bill of 1893 an amendment was moved on June 12th to remove from the Irish Parliament "the power of repealing or amending any law at present in existence, which gives legal effect to the rights and ceremonies performed by any Protestant Church." Mr. Gladstone and the Nationalists spoke against the amendment, and it was defeated by a majority of thirty-four.

It has been proposed as a solution of the difficulty that Ulster should have a separate Parliament, but the Irish loyalists are not confined to Ulster. They are to be found all over Ireland. Above 127,000 persons, living in the three Southern Provinces, signed a petition against the Bill of 1893. The avowed loyalists comprise persons of all classes and creeds—Catholic and Protestant. If to these were added those who for good reasons dare not avow themselves as loyalists it would probably be found that more than one-half the population of the Island either did not ask for Home Rule or were actively against it.

But the relative numbers in Ireland are beside the mark. It is a democratic principle that the majority should govern, but it should be a majority of the whole country and not of a part of it. The fact is that the Nationalist leaders of about two and a-half millions of people in Ireland (a large portion of them doubtful followers) are seeking by force to override the opinions of the majority of the forty-five millions in the United Kingdom. These opinions were fully expressed in the various stages of the 1893 Bill. Though the second reading was carried by a majority of the whole House the majority of British votes was against it. In nearly all the important divisions on the Bill in Committee there was an adverse British majority, while on the third reading, if British Members only were reckoned, the Bill was defeated by a considerable majority.

It remains to be seen what the Nonconformists on this side the Channel will do in this crisis. Unfortunately the "Nonconformist conscience" has of late years been more or less governed by party politics, to the great injury of Nonconformity itself. It is to be feared, however, that the militant Nonconformists will be induced by the promised bribe of Welsh Disestablishment to vote for Home Rule; but it is scarcely credible that

the great body of thoughtful Dissenters in Great Britain who put their *religious* principles first will be deaf to the urgent appeals made to them by their brethren in Ireland.

MR. J. REDMOND.

Mr. J. Redmond is a very pleasant personality, a most able man, and a master of rhetorical oratory. He is most clever in adapting his speeches to the audience which he happens to be addressing. His utterances in Great Britain are quite different from those he gives in Ireland or America. His recent (1911) speech in Manchester was a masterpiece of seductive diplomacy. He disclaimed any intention of smuggling a Home Rule Bill into law, and declared that they courted the fullest and freest discussion: that they entered on that discussion with a passionate desire for a complete reconciliation with England and the Empire; that they only wanted a subordinate Parliament for the management of Irish affairs, subject always to the continued supremacy of the Imperial Parliament at Westminster. He invited any one who

> "had any doubt on the question to make that supremacy as effective as he liked by the terms of the Bill which he said would be passed by an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons and become law during the present Parliament."

This is one of his two voices. His other voice is heard when he demands an Irish Parliament with powers like those possessed by the Colonial Legislatures—that is practical independence. This other voice is also heard when he is in Ireland. For example, a month before his Manchester speech, he addressed the Gaelic League in Ireland as follows:—

> "We have done what we could for the Gaelic League in Parliament, and the ideals of the Gaelic League are our ideals. We will struggle for them in the future. These ideals will be realised when Ireland will not only be self-governed, but self-governed not as a province of a foreign country."

Mr. Redmond contents himself with high-sounding generalities about Home Rule. On no occasion does he go into particulars and details of the measure in which the "ideals" to which he refers are to be realised. For those we must "wait and see."

Mr. Redmond, however, is not a free agent, but is between two fires. On the one hand he has to satisfy the people on this side the Channel, and on the other hand he has to meet the demands of the United Irish League and the secret societies in Ireland. The most formidable of these secret societies is the "Ancient Order of Hibernians," called by Mr. Wm. O'Brien the "Molly Maguires." It is composed entirely of Catholics, and noted for its hatred to England. It has Mr. Devlin, M.P., as its chief, who is said to be the most secretly powerful man among the Nationalists.

Above all, Mr. Redmond must satisfy his supporters in America. The object of all the societies referred to is not the good of Ireland but the defeat and humiliation of this country. They will narrowly watch the concessions made by Mr. Redmond in Committee on the Home Rule Bill, and if they hinder their object they will denounce and depose him from the leadership.

Besides the above Mr. Redmond has made similar soothing statements on a former occasion. During the passing of the Irish Local Government Act of 1898 through the House he declared that the Nationalists would use all their powers and influence to have the Act worked in the spirit of tolerance to all classes and creeds. He promised the minority a generous share of representation on the bodies created by the new Act. But these assurances have been proved to be worthless. Out of 719 County Councillors in the three provinces outside Ulster, only sixteen are Unionists.

CONCLUSION.

The fight over the Home Rule question is now beginning. We are entering on the old struggle, which will not be carried on with "velvet gloves." Appeals will be made to the constituencies of Great Britain, without whose consent, in spite of the Veto Act, no Home Rule Bill for Ireland can become or remain law.

The Government and their Nationalist taskmasters have the intention of passing their Irish measure without consulting, and behind the backs of, the British electors. But even under the Veto Act it will take them two years to do this. During that time much will happen. British opinion, after all, is a force which during the interval will manifest itself in bye-elections, by pressure on representatives in Parliament, and by other ways—altogether in such a manner as to make it irresistible. It is a British question far more than it is an Irish one. The Nationalists, with the exception of Mr. Wm. O'Brien and his small following, have throughout the contest never adopted the policy of conciliation, but have relied on threats, warnings and defiances. This shows how ignorant they are of the British character. The British people as a whole, though they may be slow in the consideration of a subject, are firm and tenacious when they have once grasped it. We believe that they will consider and settle the question on its merits, and will not be coerced by a bubble conspiracy—now become a mere imposture—to adopt a system which Mr. Gladstone once declared would make us ridiculous in the sight of all mankind.

Mr. Asquith, in his attempt to carry Home Rule, is reckoning without his host. He is not likely to succeed where the greatest of Liberal leaders, under far more favourable circumstances, so completely failed.

To sum up the whole matter, it would be safe to predict that there will be no Parliament established on College Green.

"*The enterprise is sick.*"

NOTES ON THE 1893 HOME RULE BILL.

(Reprinted from "THE RURAL WORLD," 1893.)

As we have had so many enquiries regarding the Home Rule Bill, and as there appears to be a very common misunderstanding or ignorance in many minds concerning its provisions, we have thought it well to furnish our readers with an account of the House of Commons proceedings upon the measure.

The question of Home Rule has been before the constituencies for the past six years, but no definite meaning was given to it. Home Rule is a phrase which might mean anything until explained. It might be simply local government as we have it in our counties, or a real Parliament as it exists in the Colonies. During the elections Gladstonian candidates kept it and its meaning in the background, and relied for success on promises of all kinds of legislation for the benefit of the people generally. These candidates, in fact, knew really nothing as to what the Bill was to be, for though Mr. Gladstone in preparing his Bill was—as we learn from Mr. Dillon—in consultation and agreement with Irish Nationalist members, yet he

NEVER TOOK THE BRITISH PEOPLE INTO HIS CONFIDENCE

by telling them anything whatever about it. At the meeting of Parliament, however, in February last, concealment was no longer possible, and the Home Rule Bill itself had to be laid before the House and its provisions made known. The

BILL WAS INTRODUCED ON FEBRUARY 13th.

The House was crowded and excited almost beyond description, and Mr. Gladstone, in a powerful speech of two and a quarter hours' duration, explained the Bill which he was asking leave to bring in.

It was then seen that the proposals were to establish a Parliament in Dublin, nominally subordinate, but for all practical purposes an independent one. The Irish Executive or Government was to be free from the control of the Imperial Legislature and responsible alone to the Irish Parliament. Though the Irish were to have a Parliament of their own, they were also to have eighty members in the British Parliament. The attention of the House was much aroused at this announcement, because

MR. GLADSTONE IN 1886 DECLARED

that "it passed the wit of man" to devise a scheme by which Ireland should have a Parliament of its own and at the same time retain Irish members in the present House of Commons. He further stated at that time that he would be no party to such a proceeding.

THE IRISH PARLIAMENT WAS TO BE COMPOSED OF TWO CHAMBERS.

1. A Legislative Assembly of 103 members popularly elected for five years, unless dissolution before that time.

2. A Legislative Council of forty-eight members, elected by electors rated at £20 per annum and upwards (the number of these electors in all Ireland is 170,000), and able to sit for eight years.

Two Exchequer Judges were to be appointed by the Imperial Government to decide on all financial questions and Imperial matters referred to them. These judges, however, would have no means whatever to enforce their decisions, as the whole Executive, including the humblest policeman, would be under the Irish Parliament!

As to the appointment of all other judges, they were to remain as at present for six years, being, after that time, appointed by and under the control of the Irish Parliament.

The Irish Constabulary was to remain under the Crown for a time, but to be gradually abolished and a force under the Irish Government was to be created in its place.

AS TO FINANCE,

it was proposed that the Customs—that is, the duty received on all articles consumed in Ireland subject to customs duties (tea, tobacco, wines, etc.)—should be collected and retained by the Imperial Government, and that that should represent the share to be paid by Ireland to the general expenses of the government of the United Kingdom.

THESE CUSTOM DUTIES WERE EXPECTED TO REALISE,

after deducting expenses of collection, a net sum of £2,400,000. This represented all that Ireland would have to pay; but it is to be noted that if the Imperial Parliament should reduce the duty on tea, tobacco, or wines, then the Customs in Ireland would amount to so much less, and the Irish Government would have that much less to pay.

The Bill was so full of intricacies that it was felt to be impossible to fully analyse it until it was printed, and the full text of it seen. Nevertheless, it was pointed out that there was no provision for the protection of Ulster. It was shown that the supremacy of Parliament was only named in an abstract way in

the preamble of the Bill, that it was therefore, useless; and that it simply meant the same supremacy as the Imperial Parliament has over the colonies. As a theory this "Colonial" supremacy is undoubted. Parliament can, for example, legislate over the heads of the Colonial Parliaments—Canada, New South Wales, Victoria, etc.—and the Crown can veto any of their Acts.

It was shown, however, that this was a mere nominal supremacy; that if the Imperial Parliament, or the Crown were to exercise the right referred to, very little notice would be taken of such action by the Colonial Legislatures; and that Great Britain would have no power to give effect to her will except by armed force, seeing that all the executive power in each colony is in the hands of the Colonial Parliament. This was the only sort of supremacy which the Imperial Parliament would have over the Irish Legislature.

Speeches and addresses of Gladstonian candidates at the general election were read to prove that no Bill of this kind was ever contemplated, but that, on the contrary, it was declared by most of these candidates that they would never support any measure of Home Rule unless the Irish Legislature was without doubt to be a subordinate one, unless the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament was placed beyond question, and unless the rights, liberties, and privileges of the minority in Ireland were absolutely safeguarded. None of these conditions were fulfilled in the Bill except in theory and on paper. Among the speeches of Mr. Gladstone before his conversion to Home Rule was one in which he said:—

"WHY IS PARLIAMENT TO BE BROKEN UP?"

"What is it that Ireland has demanded from the Imperial Parliament, and that the Imperial Parliament has refused? The Imperial Parliament has done for Ireland what it would have scrupled to do for England and Scotland. Can any rational man suppose that at this time of day, in this condition of the world, we are going to disintegrate the great capital institutions of this country for the purpose of making ourselves ridiculous in the sight of all mankind?"

These and all other utterances quoted were ignored:

THE GOVERNMENT HAD NO ANSWER TO MAKE.

As to the intentions of the Nationalist Party, the words of Mr. J. Redmond were quoted from a recent article in the *Nineteenth Century*, in which he declared that he and his party would not agree to any supremacy of the British Parliament over Irish affairs. Reference was made to the words of

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN,

the Secretary for Scotland, who, before his surrender to Home Rule, said, in 1886, that he would sooner remain a private citizen for the rest of his life than hand over the lives and liberties of the law-abiding population in Ireland to a Parliament in which, as he believed, Sheridan and Egan would find seats. Sir George

Trevelyan was challenged to say, as a Cabinet Minister in the present Government, why he was a party to the present Bill. Convincing arguments were used in the debate to show that the new Parliament in Ireland would be

A NATIONALIST PARLIAMENT ELECTED UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE PRIESTS;

that the loyal Protestant minority would under no circumstances accept it; that they would not submit to be taxed and governed by such a Parliament, in whose hands their dearest interests would not be safe; and that to force such a Parliament on the loyal population would be a crime of colossal magnitude.

The full text of Mr. Gladstone's speech of October 28th, 1881, was quoted, in which he said:—

> *"It is idle to talk of law, or order, or liberty, or religion, or civilisation, if these gentlemen are to carry through the reckless and chaotic schemes they have devised. Rapine is their first object, but rapine is not their only object. It is perfectly true that those gentlemen wish to march, through rapine, to the disintegration and the dismemberment of the empire."*

It was pointed out by the Ulster members that there were good reasons why the loyal minority should not trust the Irish Nationalists. They spoke of the Land League, of which the Prime Minister had said that "crime dogged its footsteps," and which Mr. Gladstone's own Attorney-General, now Mr. Justice Johnson, declared was "steeped to the lips in treason." It was shown that the League

RULED IRELAND BY TERROR;

that it spared neither age nor sex in the exercise of its tyranny; that it started the plan of campaign, admitted by all to be a movement of plunder and dishonesty; that by boycotting it sought to trample out all freedom on the part of the individual; and that during the years of its rule no man or woman who dared to assert the right to act honestly was free from its terrible curse.

The Prime Minister told the Ulster members to have faith; but, with bitter memories of the past, how could they have faith in the reformation of men who had expressed the intention of punishing them when they got all the power into their own hands?

It was further shown that the Irish Government, under the Bill, would have the full control of the criminal law; that

THEY MIGHT RELEASE THE DYNAMITERS,

or take any steps with respect to the punishment or non-punishment of crime which they chose. The Government's reply to this was that there was an appeal to the Courts; but it was shown, and could not be denied, that though Judges in an Appeal Court might give a decision, there was no power whatever to carry that decision out. All the executive power—sheriffs, sub-sheriffs,

policemen—would be under the nomination and pay of the Irish Executive, and it was impossible to suppose that they would enforce decrees *against* that Executive.

It was pointed out that there would be no security for the payment of the annual sums due to the Imperial Exchequer for advances made to Ireland on various accounts. At present large sums of money were advanced to Ireland at low interest for various improvements; but an Irish Government left to its own resources would not be able to borrow money except at higher interest (if it could borrow at all), and the consequence would be that great schemes, so necessary for the material prosperity of Ireland, would be checked, and that the great mass of the country would suffer.

The Government were asked for explanations with regard to educational matters in Ireland. At present, the national education in that country is unsectarian, and it has regard for the conscience of the Protestant minority. Under the Bill, it appears that an Irish Parliament, established under Roman Catholic dictation, could change all this, make the system denominational, and

TAX THE PEOPLE,

including the Protestant population, for the purpose of Roman Catholic schools, colleges, and universities.

The speeches of the Irish members were somewhat of a defiant and impertinent character. Mr. Sexton was bold enough to say that it was no longer a question between the people of Ireland and the people of Great Britain, but that it was a question between this Empire and the Irish race, amounting to twenty-five millions of men scattered over the globe. In answer to this, Mr. Sexton was assured that any threat of foreign dictation was not likely to influence the British people.

Continual complaints were made by Unionist speakers that the Government declined to answer any of the arguments, or cases, placed before them for reply. They (the Government) replied in generalities, declared that the Opposition were animated by distrust of the Irish people, and that they themselves did not anticipate any of the difficulties named. To the charge of the

DISGRACEFUL DESERTION OF THE LOYAL MINORITY

in Ireland, no answer was attempted further than to say that no fear should be entertained that anything wrong would be done by the Irish Parliament.

The whole debate was wound up by Mr. Gladstone, who, in a brilliant speech, defended the Bill generally, avoided definite replies to the points which had been raised by the Opposition, and made light of apprehensions of the many dangers pointed out as being involved in the Bill. The burden of his reply was that the Irish Parliament must be trusted in respect to every difficulty raised.

On a division the second reading was carried by a majority of forty-three.

SCENE IN THE HOUSE AFTER THE DIVISION.

At the announcement of the figures the scene in the House was remarkable. The majority of the Gladstonians cheered vociferously. The Nationalists were beside themselves with enthusiasm. They waved their hats, some of them stood on the benches, and all gave way to every demonstration. The Unionist Opposition, however, were not disheartened. They felt that it was the second reading of a Bill which attempted to force a new constitution, not only on Ireland, but on Great Britain as well, and to do this against the will of the British people by the mere force of Irish votes. They were convinced that this could not be carried out without a further appeal to the constituencies; and many of the old experienced members were of opinion that that scene marked the highest point which the Home Rule movement was destined to attain, and that now, once understood, its importance would decline, and the Bill be ultimately defeated.

THE BILL IN COMMITTEE.

THE DEBATE IN COMMITTEE IS GIVEN FROM DAY TO DAY; THE MEANING OF EACH AMENDMENT IS EXPLAINED; THE APPROXIMATE TIME EACH AMENDMENT OCCUPIED IN DISCUSSION IS STATED, AS WELL AS THE PARTICULARS OF THE DIVISION ON IT. IN THIS CONNECTION IT MUST BE REMEMBERED THAT IRELAND HAS BETWEEN TWENTY AND THIRTY REPRESENTATIVES MORE THAN IT IS ENTITLED TO.

In describing the debate on the first and second readings, it was necessary to treat the Bill as a whole, and to deal generally with its main provisions and principles.

It is only in Committee, however, that the real meaning and scope of the measure can be disclosed. There are many points, often reckoned as details, which are of the most vital importance as affecting the happiness, comfort and liberty not only of minorities, but of the people generally. Take, for instance, the Habeas Corpus Act, the charter of the people's liberties, which secures that any accused person shall be brought to trial with the least possible delay. The power to suspend that Act is in the United States (except for invasion or rebellion), and in the self-governing Colonies strictly reserved to the central governments. In the Home Rule Bill, however, that power is taken out of the hands of the Imperial Legislature, and invested in the Irish Government.

Take another example, that of factory legislation, which so closely affects the health, comfort and hours of work of the men, women and children of the industrial classes, and is applied to all parts of the kingdom alike. There are very few trades unions or labour organisations in Ireland to oppose any tampering with and altering these beneficial laws. It would be, therefore, unwise and dangerous to hand the power over of this

legislation to an Irish Government, which the Bill proposes to do, and thus remove the operatives of Ireland from the protection of the Imperial Parliament.

We deal, therefore, with the Bill in Committee from day to day, setting forth in as plain language as possible the meaning both of the various clauses and sub-sections and of the amendments moved in regard to them.

MONDAY, MAY 8th—FIRST DAY IN COMMITTEE.

Clause I. was as follows:—

> "*On and after the appointed day there shall be in Ireland a Legislature consisting of Her Majesty the Queen and of two Houses—the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly.*"

Mr. Chamberlain moved the postponement of the clause on the ground that Clause 9, which related to the retention of Irish members in the Imperial Parliament, should be first dealt with. It was not known whether eighty or the whole 103 Irish members were to be so retained; or whether they were to deal only with Imperial legislation, or were to vote on *all* business before the House, as at present.

Mr. Gladstone said they intended to *propose the ninth clause as it stood*; that is, to retain eighty members for special Imperial business; but, when challenged by Mr. Balfour, he declined to say that they intended to *adhere* to it, or to give any further explanation. An extract from a speech by Mr. Gladstone after the Home Rule Bill of 1886 was quoted as follows:—

> "I will never be a party to allowing the Irish members to manage their own affairs in Dublin and at the same time to come over here and manage British affairs."

It was contended that Clause 9 should be cleared up before it could be possible to settle the character of the Legislature to be set up by Clause 1. The discussion on this clause was marked by rude Irish interruptions, and on a division the amendment was rejected.

The discussion lasted	1 hour
Government majority	57
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	34

Mr. Darling (Deptford) moved an amendment to provide that legislation by the proposed Dublin Parliament should not *impair, restrict, or alter the supreme power and authority of the Imperial Parliament in all matters, local and Imperial, and over all persons in Great Britain and Ireland.*

The object of this amendment was to make the *supremacy* of the Imperial Parliament clear. That supremacy was only named in the preamble (*i.e.*, simply in the "introduction") of the Bill, and would be of no definite effect unless positively enacted in a clause. In opposition to the amendment, the Government

declared that the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament existed, without stating it, not only in Ireland, but in all the colonies, and they objected to any words defining that supremacy.

Sir Henry James pointed out that the object of the amendment was to know if the supremacy was *an admitted fact or not;* that it ought to be set forth in plain and distinct language; and that it ought not to be put only in the preamble, which was not *an enacting part of the Bill.* It was contended by the Opposition that no doubt, technically speaking, the Imperial Parliament was supreme over Canada and over the colonies of Australia, but that this was only a nominal supremacy, as it was evident that the Imperial Parliament could not over-ride the Acts of the Colonial Parliaments, and that if it attempted to do so no notice would be taken of such action. If it was admitted that the Imperial Parliament was to be supreme, why not make it so in an effective manner!

The Irish Nationalist members objected to the amendment. The Government were hard pushed by the Unionists to consent to it. It was urged that the electors were promised at the general election that there should be *no doubt about this matter*, and that the present amendment tested the sincerity and independence of the Government. The debate on this vital question was closured and the amendment rejected.

The discussion lasted	4 hours
Government majority	52
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	29

Loud complaints were made that a debate on this important subject was closured in so arbitrary a manner, and a motion to report progress was made. It was pointed out that the Opposition, which composed nearly half the House of Commons, and which represented a large majority of the electors in Great Britain, were entitled to be heard. It was complained that the Government had not met the arguments of their opponents, or attempted to meet them, but had closed the debate by brute force. The speakers were interrupted by the Nationalist members, and, amid loud uproar, Mr. Chamberlain demanded to know whether the Government had determined to carry the Home Rule Bill without discussion, and at the dictation of Irish members. If that was the case, he said, let them say so at once. After a stormy discussion the motion to report progress was defeated.

The discussion lasted	1 hour
Government majority	42
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	19
British majority *against* the Government	11

TUESDAY, MAY 9th—SECOND DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(Clause I.—Continued.)

Mr. Bartley moved an amendment asserting that the Irish Legislature should be *subordinate* to the Imperial Parliament. It was repeated that nearly every Gladstonian candidate at the general election declared that there should be no doubt as to the subordinate character of any Irish Parliament which might be established. The present amendment was moved to test the Government on this matter.

The Nationalists objected to the amendment, contending that the Irish Parliament should be subject only to the veto of the Crown.

The Government were asked if that was the compact which they had made with the Irish Nationalists; if so, it was evident that the Irish Legislature was not to be a *subordinate* one, but practically independent.

Mr. Balfour pointed out that the Government had absolutely no arguments against the amendment, and that the subordinate character of the Irish Legislature—so much talked about—was not to be embodied in the Bill. The amendment was defeated.

The discussion lasted	2 hours
Government majority	35
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	12
British majority *against* the Government ...	18

Mr. T. W. Russell moved to omit the second Chamber from the Irish Parliament—not from opposition to the principle of the Chamber, but because the system of electing this Irish second Chamber afforded no safeguards to the minority.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 10th—THIRD DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(Clause I.—Continued.)

The consideration of Mr. Russell's amendment was continued. The Irish upper Chamber was, under the Bill, to be chosen by electors rated at £20 and upwards. These would be the small farmers who had cattle to be maimed, and rickyards to be burned, who would be under the terrorism of the Irish Land League, and who were of a class who would act completely under the direction of the priests. It was pointed out that under the proposals of the Bill if the two Irish Chambers could not agree on a Bill, they were, after a certain time, to meet together, and the majority of the whole body would then decide. Hence, it was evident that the lower Chamber, being the more numerous, would always eventually have their way, and that as a safeguard the upper Chamber was *simply a sham*, and no protection at all to the minority in Ireland.

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Mr. Atherley-Jones, Mr. W. Saunders, and Dr. Wallace (all Gladstonian members) ridiculed the proposition of this second Chamber. Dr. Wallace said that this was a Bill "*made to pass.*" They knew, he said, that it would be thrown out by the House of Lords, and their only chance of success was that they should be able to rouse the country against the House of Lords; but they would never be able to do this by means of a Bill "made to pass." Bills "made to pass" were very like razors that were made to sell. They might succeed in passing them upon the market, but the market would find them out. They would never, he added, excite public enthusiasm by a shifty and patchy Bill, in which the country would know that principles were sacrificed to mere tactics. This important amendment was brought to an end by the closure.

The discussion lasted	5 hours
Government majority	51
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	28
British majority *against* the Government ...	7

THURSDAY, MAY 11th—FOURTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(Clause 1.—Continued.)

A motion was made "*That Clause 1 stand part of the Bill.*"

In discussing this motion, the Unionists contended that there had been no necessity proved for a separate Legislature for Ireland. The Unionists complained that the argument had been all on one side, and that the Government had made no reply; that the Unionist arguments had been treated either with silence or evasion of the points raised; and that the followers of the Government had swallowed everything proposed, in opposition to all the pledges given at the general election.

Mr. Chamberlain quoted as follows, from a speech of Mr. Parnell's, at Ennis, on February 1st, 1891:—

> "We have shown the world that Ireland now, as always, stands fast to her claim to be sovereign within her own kingdom and country; that she refuses to admit any English veto; that she declines to obey the orders, so far as her own business is concerned, of any Imperial or English Minister, taskmaster, or dictator."

Mr. Chamberlain challenged the Irish Nationalists to say if they had changed their opinions. He dared them to repeat in the House speeches made outside. He further quoted from a speech of the member for Cork City (*Freeman's Journal*, January 29th, 1892), as follows:—

> "I take it that we are all united in demanding that the Irish Parliament, while it acts within its own province, shall be as free from Imperial meddling as the Parliaments of Australia or Canada."

He quoted, moreover, from a speech by Mr. Dillon (Mayo), on December 6th, 1891, as follows:—

> "Then we will try Gladstone. If his Bill gives over the Government of this country into the hands of the Nationalists of this country—as I believe it will—our troubles and our struggles will be over. . . . If it does not we shall go on until we have wrung from the English Parliament a measure of complete emancipation."

These were a few speeches, among many, which showed the demands of the Irish Nationalists—demands which they had never altered. The Bill conceded those demands, and every amendment to modify them had, so far, been resisted by the Government, acting under Irish domination.

The Irish members were roused at being thus confronted with their outside speeches. There was a great scene of disorder, the Nationalist members showing their arrogant determination to have their way. The members of the Government sat powerless. The Ulster members wanted to speak on the motion, declaring that as this was a Legislature to be created to govern *them*, they had a right to show its oppressive character, and (it being now nearly 12 o'clock, the end of the sitting) a motion was made to report progress, in order that the discussion might be continued next day. This motion was resisted by the Government, and defeated by a majority of forty-four, when, it being midnight, the discussion stood adjourned.

FRIDAY, MAY 12th—FIFTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(Discussion continued on the motion, "That Clause I. stand part of the Bill.")

The Ulster members pointed out that this clause, which established a Legislature for Ireland, was one to coerce the loyal people of Ulster and other parts of Ireland, and to thrust them out from the protection of the Imperial constitution; that it sought to fasten a hateful yoke on their necks; and that there were to be nothing but paper safeguards for their rights, liberties and privileges.

Sir Edward Reed (Gladstonian member for Cardiff) declared that he had never been in favour of, and would never vote for, a Bill that did not provide for the full control of the Irish Parliament by the Imperial Parliament; that that supremacy must be provided for by means of a clear and distinct clause.

Unionist speakers were continually interrupted by Irish Nationalists, and attempts were made, in the rudest and most disorderly way, to stop them, and to interfere with the discussion, and uproarious scenes were witnessed in the House.

The debate on this vital clause, which raised the whole question as to whether or no there should be a Parliament for Ireland, was closured by the Government, though *many others*

wished to speak on the question. The closure was carried by a majority of forty-eight, and the motion "That Clause I. stand part of the Bill" was forthwith passed.

The discussion lasted	8½ hours
Government majority	42
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	19
British majority *against* the Government ...	12

Clause II. was as follows:—

> "*With the exceptions and subject to the restrictions in this Act mentioned, there shall be granted to the Irish Legislature power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland, in respect of matters exclusively relating to Ireland, or some part thereof.*"

This clause proposed to give into the hands of the Irish Legislature the power to legislate on every subject except on those named in the Bill.

Mr. Victor Cavendish moved the omission of the following introductory words in the clause—"*With the exceptions and subject to the restrictions in this Act mentioned.*"

The effect of the amendment would be that instead of giving everything into the hands of the Irish Legislature except certain questions specially named, everything would be *retained* in the hands of the Imperial Parliament, except certain questions which were named and delegated to the Irish Legislature; that is to say, that the subjects on which the Irish Parliament should be empowered to legislate should be *named in the Bill,* and everything else except those subjects retained by the Imperial Parliament, so that it might be clearly and strictly defined what the Irish Legislature could and could not do.

This amendment was under discussion at midnight, when the House adjourned.

MONDAY, MAY 15th—SIXTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(The discussion on Mr. Victor Cavendish's amendment to Clause II. was continued.)

It was pointed out that in the case of Canada everything was retained in the hands of the Federal Government, *except those measures which were delegated to the Provincial Parliaments*; and that it was due to the people of Great Britain that they should know what really were the powers proposed to be granted to the *Irish* Parliament.

Many instances were given of the difficulties which would arise under the clause as it stood. To take one instance, the subject of marriage and divorce was not named as an excepted question, and would, therefore, be handed over to the Irish Parliament. It would be a great hardship for the Protestant population—who valued their methods of proceeding with regard

to marriages, especially the right of civil marriage—to be subjected to laws which a Roman Catholic Parliament might pass on the subject.

Mr. Storey, Gladstonian member for Sunderland, announced his intention to vote for the amendment on the ground that it was better and easier to proceed by way of delegation of subjects, and to define the subjects delegated to an Irish Parliament, instead of to give it power over *every subject with the exception of certain questions reserved*.

The Irish members, however, opposed any concession, and the Government could only say that the Irish Legislature could be trusted to do what was right. The amendment was consequently defeated.

The discussion lasted	3 hours
Government majority	47
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	24
British majority *against* the Government	5

TUESDAY, MAY 16th—SEVENTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(Clause II.—Continued.)

Mr. Brodrick, Guildford, Surrey, moved an amendment giving power to the Queen upon the Address of both Houses of the Imperial Parliament, to *diminish or restrain any of the powers granted to the Irish Legislature*.

The object of the amendment was to enable the Imperial Parliament to have a check over any unjust exercise of the powers given to the Irish Legislature. It was pointed out that the new Parliament would be a Catholic Parliament legislating for Protestants—a Nationalist Parliament legislating for the Loyalist minority. If anything unjust were done towards the minority by this Parliament there was no adequate means by which a check could be applied.

The reply of the Government was that the Irish Parliament must be trusted! The Ulster members urged that the past action of the Nationalist Party was not such as to give confidence to the Ulster people, and that they should try to obtain all the safeguards and securities they could.

The amendment was defeated.

The discussion lasted	2 hours
Government majority	56
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	33

Sir Henry James moved an amendment providing that, "*notwithstanding anything in this Act contained, the supreme power and authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland shall remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters, and things within the Queen's dominions.*"

This raised the question of the supremacy of Parliament, which at present was not contained *in the enacting part of the Bill*. Mr. Balfour urged that if the supremacy of Parliament was to be a practical thing under the Bill they must insert machinery to make it so. Up to this point it was a mere abstraction. The Bill contained only the same supremacy as Parliament had over the Colonial Parliaments of Australia and Canada, which, of course, was *a mere paper one*.

The Government attempted to get the amendment postponed. They promised to consider the matter at a later stage of the Bill. It was contended, however, by the Opposition that this was the place and time to affirm the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament if the Government meant it to be supreme.

The Irish members strongly opposed the amendment. They were willing to put the question off to a subsequent clause; but the Unionists declared that, after the utterances of the Nationalists, there was no security if once they missed this opportunity. Mr. Chamberlain quoted, among other Nationalist statements, that of Mr. Redmond (Waterford), who said:—

> "The rights of the Imperial Parliament would remain intact; those rights would remain dormant so far as Irish affairs are concerned. A Parliamentary compact would be entered into binding the Imperial Parliament to leave those rights dormant."

Mr. Chamberlain pointed out, therefore, that if this Bill once passed without a distinct declaration of supremacy, the Nationalist Party would say, and would have a perfect right to say, "You gave us this Constitution knowing that we said we only accepted it on the understanding that your Imperial supremacy would for ever remain dormant, and you sat silent and allowed the Bill to pass."

He quoted another statement of Mr. Redmond's, in October, 1892, as follows:—

> "The power which, in the case of the Colonies, is harmless because it is a dead-letter, would, in the case of Ireland, be a reality, and would be a perpetual source of humiliation, of heart-burning, and of danger. We therefore say that a formal compact must be entered into that, while the Irish Parliament lasts, it will be permitted sole and unfettered authority on all purely Irish affairs, free from interference by the Imperial Parliament, and subject only to the constitutional veto of the Crown."

As the debate went on it was evident that the Government feared defeat if they resisted the amendment; but, at the same time, the Irish members were extremely angry, and were determined to resist it in the form it stood. Mr. Gladstone, therefore, said that he was not in a position to resist the insertion of the words, but that the Government would reserve to themselves a discretion later on as to the position they should take in the Bill, and of giving them the entirely unexceptionable form which he suggested at an earlier stage of the discussion.

Mr. Balfour pointed out that though the Government had accepted the amendment they had qualified that acceptance

by a statement of their intention not to insert the words here but to restrict the acceptance to words which, if left alone in the Bill, would be worth absolutely nothing.

The amendment, which occupied 3¾ hours in discussion, was then agreed to.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 17th—EIGHTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

It was moved "*That Clause II. as amended stand part of the Bill.*"

Mr. Henry Fowler (Wolverhampton), in defending the clause, made a speech in which he declared that the restrictions in the Bill were ample; that they must trust the Irish Parliament; and that in case of injustice being done, the Imperial supremacy could be brought into force. He said the machinery for upholding the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament was the "veto." He made other remarks, which caused Mr. Goschen to rise and demand that the Opposition might be allowed to reply to his statements, which were held to be contrary to anything which the Bill secured. It was understood that his reply was to be permitted; but, after two short speeches had been made, the closure was moved, and carried by a majority of sixty-one.

The motion, "That Clause II., as amended, stand part of the Bill" was then put and carried.

The discussion lasted	2 hours
Government majority	62
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	39

Mr. Goschen then moved to "report progress," in order to complain that the Government had allowed no time to reply to Mr. Fowler's arguments. He asked that a candid and straightforward course should be taken, and that a full and fair discussion should be allowed upon a matter of such vital importance as this second clause.

The Ulster members appealed to the Government on the ground of justice to the Irish minority. Not a single Ulster member had been allowed to reply.

A scene of great confusion ensued, and the motion to report progress was defeated by a majority of fifty-five.

Clause III. was as follows:—

> "*The Irish Legislature shall not have power to make laws in respect of the following matters, or any of them*:—(1) *The Crown, or the succession to the Crown, or a Regency; or the Lord Lieutenant as representative of the Crown; or* (2) *the making of peace or war or matters arising from a state of war; or* (3) *Naval or military forces, or the defence of the realm; or* (4) *Treaties and other relations with foreign states, or the relations between different parts of Her Majesty's dominions, or offences connected with such treaties or relations; or* (5) *Digni-*

ties or titles of honour; or (6) *Treason, treason-felony, alienage, or naturalization; or* (7) *Trade with any place out of Ireland; or quarantine or navigation (except as respects inland waters and local health or harbour regulations); or* (8) *Beacons, light-houses, or sea works (except so far as they can consistently with any general Act of Parliament be constructed or maintained by a local harbour authority); or* (9) *Coinage: legal tender; or the standard of weights and measures; or* (10) *Trade marks, merchandise marks, copyright, or patent rights. Any law made in contravention of this section shall be void.*"

Capt. Naylor Leyland (Colchester) moved the postponement of the clause, which contained the restrictions to be imposed on the Irish Parliament. He contended that these restrictions should be postponed until Parliament knew what the Irish Legislature was to be, and whether Irish members were to be retained in the Imperial Parliament, and in what numbers, and for what purposes.

TUESDAY, MAY 30th—NINTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(Clause III.—Continued.)

Capt. Naylor Leyland's amendment was further considered, resisted by the Government, and defeated.

The discussion lasted	1 hour
Government majority	33
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	10
British majority *against* the Government ...	17

Lord Wolmer (Edinburgh) moved an amendment with the object of preventing the Irish Parliament from passing *resolutions*, as well as laws, on the subjects with which they were forbidden to deal.

It was pointed out, as an instance, that although the Irish Parliament were forbidden to deal with foreign questions, yet they could pass *resolutions* touching foreign matters which would counteract the restriction. In case of war they could pass resolutions of sympathy with our enemies; they could send envoys or messengers to foreign courts, and be the means of causing us great trouble; and they might make any foreign complications in which we were engaged the occasion of extorting further concessions.

The Government had no alternative but to admit the danger, but they said there was no way of preventing it. The Solicitor-General admitted that, as Franklin, in the time of the American war, was sent to our enemies and accredited to them, there was nothing to prevent Mr. Sexton or Mr. O'Brien, for instance, being sent by the Irish Parliament to a country where we had any difficulty, to intrigue with our enemies so as to make further trouble and to prevent a friendly settlement.

The Government were pressed hard to agree to the desired safeguard, without which restrictions on powers of legislation would be neutralised.

The Irish members opposed any concession, and Mr. Gladstone had to make significant admission that if the amendment were accepted the Imperial Parliament would have no power to enforce it.

This amendment was one of the most damaging that the Government had to meet, but it was resisted and defeated by the small majority of twenty-one.

The discussion lasted	5 hours
Government majority	21
Government *minority* after allowing for the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	2
British majority *against* the Government ...	29

The announcement of the numbers was received with loud and prolonged Unionist cheers, and the debate was adjourned at eleven o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 31st—TENTH DAY (THE "DERBY DAY") IN COMMITTEE.

(Clause III.—Continued.)

Lord Wolmer moved a further amendment with the object of *preventing the Irish Parliament voting money except on the recommendation of the Crown acting under the advice of the Imperial Parliament.*

As the Bill stood the Irish Parliament could vote money for almost any purpose. It could vote money for the purpose of raising a body of volunteers—that is to say, an *armed force*; it could vote money to pay envoys or missions to foreign states; to deal with the question of bounties, etc., all of which ought to be *outside the power* of an Irish Legislature.

It was contended by the Government that no money could be paid except by order of the Viceroy acting for the Executive. They had to admit that they could not avert the danger feared, but they did not believe the danger would arise. They urged the old argument that the Irish Parliament must be trusted not to do wrong. It was pointed out, however, that the Executive, under which the Lord Lieutenant would act, was an *Irish Executive;* that the Paymaster-General of the Irish Parliament was *appointed* by the Irish Executive, and would, therefore, have no option but to obey the will of that Executive in these matters. Such powers, it was argued, were dangerous, and ought not to be given. The amendment was defeated.

The discussion lasted	2¼ hours
Government majority	52
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	29

THURSDAY, JUNE 1st—ELEVENTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(Clause III.—Continued.)

An amendment was proposed by Mr. Byrne (Essex), in order to prevent "*armed associations in Ireland, and the carrying and using of arms for drill and practice in arms.*"

This was to prevent raising an army under another name. Mr. Byrne was proceeding with his statement at 12 o'clock, midnight, when the debate stood adjourned.

FRIDAY, JUNE 2nd—TWELFTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(Clause III.—Continued.)

The discussion on Mr. Byrne's amendment was resumed. The debate was marked by strong language on the part of the Irish Nationalists, who threatened the Ministry with their displeasure if any further concessions were made. Mr. Sexton told the Chairman that he had risen twice on the previous day, when concessions were made, in order to protest against them. The Chairman of Committee actually apologised for not seeing him and calling on him to speak. This incident showed the arrogant assumption of Irish members, whose demand was that *they* should always be allowed to speak when they rose in their places; while *scores of British members* rose in the same manner and had no opportunity to speak.

The Ulster members urged that unless this amendment was accepted there would be no protection for them; that the Irish Parliament could pass a Disarmament Bill, by which Ulster could be disarmed, while the Irish Nationalist Parliament could have forces under their control to deal with *disarmed* Ulster. They characterised it as an infamous proposal, too glaring not to be seen. They contended that all questions of arming bodies outside the local police should be questions for the Imperial Parliament to settle. Mr. T. W. Russell declared that it was now plain that the coercion of Ulster was *meant*, and that as the British army could not be depended on to act against the loyal population, there was to be an armed force *under the Irish Executive* to do the work.

The Irish Nationalists, however, strongly opposed the amendment—declared they would not have it—and the Government, consequently, could not give way. After a heated discussion, the amendment was defeated.

The discussion lasted	2 hours
Government majority	38
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	15
British majority ***against*** the Government ...	13

Amendments by Colonel Lockwood (Essex), and Mr. Brodrick (Guildford, Surrey), with the object of safeguarding the civil liberties of Her Majesty's soldiers stationed in Ireland, and to prevent the manufacture of arms and munitions of war by the Irish Parliament, were defeated by the Government.

It being now ten minutes to seven p.m. the debate was adjourned.

MONDAY, JUNE 5th—THIRTEENTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(Clause III.—Continued.)

Mr. Tomlinson (Preston) moved an amendment in order *to secure the rights of Englishmen and Scotchmen living in Ireland, and to prevent the Irish Parliament from drawing any distinction between different subjects of the Queen with regard to the holding of property or office in Ireland.*

Mr. Courtney (Bodmin, Cornwall) urged that the danger should be guarded against. He mentioned a case in New Zealand, the Legislature of which made a difference in matters of taxation between persons domiciled in that country and aliens. Ireland should be prevented from thus legislating to the detriment of the English, Scotch, or any other subjects of the Queen.

Mr. Morley moved the closure, which was carried.

Mr. Tomlinson's amendment was then put, and rejected.

The discussion lasted	1 hour
Government majority	37
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	14
British majority *against* the Government ...	19

Mr. Yerburgh (Chester) moved an amendment, the object of which was to *exclude offences committed on the high seas from the control of the Irish Parliament.* It was contended that this was not a domestic *Irish* question, and that all cases of piracy and outrage at sea should be matters for Imperial treatment. Mr. Yerburgh urged that under the Bill the Irish Parliament could pass any law it pleased with reference to offences on the high seas; and that that Parliament ought to have no power to alter the Imperial law respecting such offences. Outrages, for instance, might be committed on Scotch and English fishermen off the coast of Ireland, and, it was asked, what chance of redress would these fishermen have if their grievances were referred to an Irish Parliament? Many other instances in point were advanced.

The Government, however, resisted the amendment, and it was defeated.

The discussion lasted about	1 hour
Government majority	63
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	40
British majority *against* the Government ...	6

Mr. Gerald Balfour (Leeds) moved an amendment to the effect that *the appointment of judges or magistrates should be in the hands of the Crown, acting under the advice of an Executive Government.* The question whether the appointment should be on the advice of the Imperial Executive Government or upon that of the Irish Executive Government—a most important matter—was not raised by this amendment, which only sought to prevent judges and magistrates being appointed by the Irish *Parliament*—a mode of election which would make those judges and magistrates subject to the popular vote, and which would thus take away their independence. Reference was made to cases in certain States of America where this mode of election prevailed, and where the administration of justice was, in consequence, frequently reduced to a farce.

The Government had the usual reply, that there was no real danger. Mr. Bryce (Gladstonian) had to admit that the most unfortunate results in the United States attended this method of election. Instances were given wherein Irish judges were attacked continually by Irish Nationalists; and it was declared that the independence of the judges could not be secured if they were placed under the control of the Irish Parliament. It was pointed out that in a country like Ireland, where there were two races, two religions, and bitter controversies, the Imperial protection as regards the administration of justice was *necessary for the safeguarding of the minorities.* As the Bill stood, these minorities after six years would be at the mercy of judges and magistrates who might be appointed by the Irish Parliament, and who, therefore, would be likely to be *political partisans.*

The Irish Nationalist members, however, strongly opposed the amendment; the Government, as a consequence, could not give way, and it was therefore defeated.

The discussion lasted	2¼ hours
Government majority	36
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	13
British majority *against* the Government ...	16

TUESDAY, JUNE 6th—FOURTEENTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(Clause III.—Continued.)

An amendment was moved by Mr. Butcher (York) *to withdraw from the Irish Parliament the power of making laws dealing with "criminal conspiracy and combination."* As the Bill stood, the Irish Parliament could deal with the law of conspiracy, and could legalise the plan of campaign, the National League, or boycotting with all its terrors and persecutions. Thus minorities, and all those who were obnoxious in the eyes of the Nationalist Party, would be placed in a very dangerous position.

The only reply the Government could make was the usual one that the Irish Parliament must be *trusted*; that it was insulting to the Nationalists to suppose they could do wrong, and

that these same Nationalists—whatever they had been in the past—were now moderate and reasonable.

Mr. Morley moved the closure, and the amendment was rejected.

The discussion lasted	1¾ hours
Government majority	41
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	18
British majority *against* the Government	13

Mr. Barton (Mid. Armagh), on behalf of Mr. Carson (Dublin University), moved an amendment *to prevent the Irish Parliament from deciding on the "procedure in criminal matters."*

Sir Henry James pointed out clearly that it was idle to retain treason and treason-felony, and such matters in the hands of the Imperial Parliament if the *procedure* were left to Irish courts and to Irish-appointed judges. He urged that a man might be condemned for treason or for any other crime, under the Imperial law, but that the procedure might be so arranged by the *Irish Parliament* that when a man was committed for trial he might be allowed bail, or permitted to escape, or, if convicted of outrage or murder and condemned, he might be allowed to come and go and *make his escape*. It was evident, he asserted, that "the Irish Legislature at their will might make the administration of justice not only a fiction but a farce." Criminal procedure, therefore, should be vested in the Imperial Parliament.

The Solicitor-General made a very weak reply, dealing only with side issues.

The debate showed that in this respect, as in others, the safeguards for the rights and liberties of minorities were *mere paper ones*. The Government, throughout the day's discussion, were taunted with their helpless position. It was urged that they had received their *orders* from their Irish masters, and that they were obliged to *obey*, making, however, such excuses as they were able.

The amendment was defeated.

The discussion lasted	2¾ hours
Government majority	40
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	17
British majority *against* the Government	13

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 7th.—FIFTEENTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(Clause III.—Continued.)

Mr. Grant Lawson (Thirsk, Yorks.) proposed as an amendment, "*That the oath of allegiance should not be abolished.*"

Many members declared themselves not in favour of any oath of allegiance, as they considered that it was not binding, in

many cases, on those who took it; but, at the same time, it was contended that if the oath of allegiance was to be abolished, it should be abolished by a general law affecting the United Kingdom. In the face of the strong Irish opposition, however, the Government could not accept the amendment, which was rejected.

The discussion lasted	¾ hour
Government majority	46
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	23
British majority *against* the Government ...	5

THURSDAY, JUNE 8th—SIXTEENTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(Clause III.—Continued.)

Mr. Bartley (North Islington) moved an amendment *to prevent the Irish Parliament from giving bounties to Irish industries.*

This raised a question closely affecting British manufacturers and British working men, and the Unionist members of Great Britain demanded that the power of giving bounties should not be placed in the hands of an Irish Parliament. The Home Rule Bill of 1886 did not allow the giving of bounties, but in the present Bill it appeared that the Irish Nationalists had *secured what they wanted.*

It was contended that there was no difference between the "bounty" system and *actual Protection.* The Irish Legislature were, by the Bill, forbidden to *impose duties* on British manufactured goods, but the prohibition would be useless if the Legislature obtained the power of giving *bounties* to Irish productions. As an instance, they were *forbidden* to impose *a tax*, say, of 6d. a pair on British shoes imported into Ireland, but they might give bounties to the Irish shoe *manufacturers* of 6d. per pair, which would force British shoes out of the market, and be *just the same as a protective duty.*

The same process would apply to the manufacture of cotton and woollen goods. Bounties might also be given to the producers of Irish butter and cheese, to the great injury of the English farmer.

The Government were challenged to defend their position. Mr. Gladstone said that the Bill gave power to give "premiums," and not "bounties;" and that premiums were given to the congested districts of Ireland in support of fisheries, and to make light railways.

It was pointed out, however, that these so-called *premiums* were simply for charitable purposes, and for the benefit of certain poor districts; but that it was absolutely unjust to give an Irish Parliament power to tax Ulster and the people of Ireland generally in order (by bounties) to subsidise manufacturers in, say, the south of Ireland. The British working classes were to be called upon, not only to provide money to set up an Irish

Parliament, but to allow that Parliament to have the power, by the giving of bounties to Irish traders, of creating a spurious and intolerable competition with British manufacturers. It was asserted that the British working men were thus asked "to pay for the rope to hang themselves."

Mr. Wolff (Belfast) remarked that great industries had been created in Ulster without bounties; and that the Ulster people had no facilities or laws different from those in other parts of Ireland. Why, he asked, had not industries been created in other parts of Ireland? He said it was on account of the difference of race—that there were industry and enterprise existing among the English and Scotch race in the north of Ireland which were wanting in the Celtic population of other parts.

Mr. Chamberlain quoted from Mr. Morley's own article in the *Nineteenth Century*, in which he (Mr. Morley) said:—

> "There could be little doubt that, given the chance, Ireland would imitate the example of the United States, Canada, Victoria, and most other countries in the world, by erecting a protective tariff against woollen cloth, shoes, and other manufactured articles."

Mr. Balfour challenged Mr. Gladstone to deny that these subventions to Irish manufactures would compete unfairly with British trade. No answer was given. The Irish members, however, insisted that these detrimental provisions should remain in the Bill.

The discussion was a very damaging one to the Government, as many of the Gladstonian members were heartily opposed to the proposal under discussion, and in sympathy with the amendment. It was, the Government felt, necessary to *prevent further debate, and Mr. Morley accordingly moved the closure, which was carried amidst signs of strong dissatisfaction at the burking of this important question after only about two hours' discussion.*

Government majority on the Closure was ...	32
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	9
British majority *against* the Government ...	24

Mr. Bartley's amendment was then put and defeated.

The discussion lasted about	2 hours
Government majority	36
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	13
British majority *against* the Government ..	18

Sir Thomas Lea (Londonderry) moved an amendment *to reserve the Imperial control over the Irish harbours, so as to prevent the Irish Legislature from increasing the harbour dues, and placing other restrictions on such ports as Belfast, and giving preference to harbours in the south.*

He said that this provision was in the Home Rule Bill of 1886, and ought not to be omitted from the present Bill.

The Government opposed the amendment, which was defeated.

Government majority	45
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	22
British majority *against* the Government ...	10

Mr. Whiteley (Stockport) proposed an amendment *to prevent the Irish Legislature from repealing laws now existing for the protection of men, women, and children working in factories, workshops, and mines.*

He contended that legislation for factories, workshops, and mines should be in the hands of the Imperial Parliament, and that it should be alike for the whole of the United Kingdom.

FRIDAY, JUNE 9th—SEVENTEENTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(*Clause III.—Continued.*)

Mr. Whiteley's amendment was further considered.

The unreasonableness was pointed out of allowing members of the Irish Parliament to settle this national question as it affected Ireland, and of allowing them at the same time to interfere with or settle the same question as it affected Great Britain. The working hours of the British workman might be fixed by legislation, say, at an eight-hours' day, while in Ireland the working day might be fixed at ten hours, or any other number. The British manufacturer was subject to strict factory laws as regards health and the employment of children; while in Ireland, if the amendment was rejected, any cheap and insufficient arrangement might be allowed. No such restrictions as were in force in Great Britain might be imposed in Ireland—restrictions affecting the health and comfort of the workpeople, or on child labour. The British manufacturers would thus be handicapped.

Mr. Mundella said the woollen trade was going to Ireland on account of lower wages there. But, it was urged, if the workmen in Ireland were allowed to work longer hours, and were subject to no restrictions, and if children were allowed to work at all ages and at all hours, it *would be impossible for the British manufacturer to compete on fair terms with the Irish manufacturer.* This was not only an economic, but a social question, affecting the health of the people.

It was shown that the Irish skilled artisans in the north of Ireland were few in comparison with the rural voters, and that it was only through their union with the artisan population of Great Britain that good factory legislation could be obtained. When that union was destroyed the Irish artisan would have to submit to anything which the Irish Parliament might inflict upon him. Finally, it was urged that we had now a splendid code of factory laws in existence, applicable to the whole of the United Kingdom, and that all legislation affecting such code should be in the hands of the Imperial Parliament.

The Government, however, opposed the amendment, and it was defeated.

The discussion lasted	2 hours
Government majority	30
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	7
British majority *against* the Government ...	23

MONDAY, JUNE 12th—EIGHTEENTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(Clause III.—Continued.)

Sir John Lubbock moved an amendment to prevent the Irish Parliament from legislating with respect to "banks or bills of exchange." This was a matter which would affect the commerce of the United Kingdom. It was pointed out that wherever Federal Governments were established the power of altering the law affecting banks or bills of exchange was retained by the central Parliament.

Mr. Gladstone was reminded that a few days previously, in reply to an amendment of Mr. Courtney, he said:—

> "He based his position on this, that it was vital to the commerce of the three kingdoms that there should be uniformity of commercial law from one extremity of the kingdom to the other."

The Government were asked to give practical effect to this statement by accepting the amendment; and they were further asked to give a fair answer as to whether Irish bills of exchange would be treated as foreign bills or not.

The Irish Nationalist members strongly opposed the amendment, and positively threatened the Government with grave consequences if they attempted to give way on this point.

The amendment was therefore defeated.

The discussion lasted	1¾ hours
Government majority	29
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	6
British majority *against* the Government ...	23

Sir F. Powell (Wigan) proposed an amendment to prevent the Irish Parliament dealing with the subject of marriage and divorce.

It was urged that the Protestant minority in Ireland valued very much their marriage laws; that they feared, under a Parliament elected by Roman Catholic influence, those laws would be interfered with; that civil marriages would be abolished; and that mixed marriages between Protestants and Catholics, which were common in Ulster, and to which the Roman Catholic authorities were desperately opposed, would be forbidden. By having two sets of marriage laws—one for Great Britain and another for Ireland—great inconvenience might arise. For instance, a woman might be legally married in Great Britain, but not married

in Ireland. Children might be legitimate in Great Britain, but illegitimate in Ireland. A man having property in both countries would perhaps find his children disinherited as being illegitimate in the one country.

The Prime Minister opposed the amendment, and used the strange argument that in the States of America the marriage laws were very *diversified;* that divorce was so easy in some States, and the law so mixed, that a man might be legally married in some States and not in others.

The Unionists replied that such argument *went to show the absolute necessity* of having the law of marriage and the law of divorce placed on the same footing in Ireland as in England, and that it would be most unjust to the Protestant minority to leave such important questions as those of marriage and divorce to be settled by the Roman Catholic priesthood.

The Irish Party, however, opposed the amendment, and it was defeated.

The discussion lasted	1¾ hours
Government majority	34
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	11
British majority *against* the Government ...	16

TUESDAY, JUNE 13th—NINETEENTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(Clause III.—Continued.)

On the motion, "*That Clause III. stand part of the Bill,*" the motion was passed without a division, and Clause III. as amended was added to the Bill.

Clause IV. was as follows:—

"*The powers of the Irish Legislature shall not extend to the making of any law*: (1) *Respecting the establishment or endowment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or* (2) *Imposing any disability or conferring any privilege on account of religious belief; or* (3) *Abrogating or prejudicially affecting the right to establish or maintain any place of denominational education or any denominational institution or charity; or,* (4) *Prejudicially affecting the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money, without attending the religious instruction at that school; or,* (5) *Whereby any person may be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or may be denied the equal protection of the laws, or whereby private property may be taken without just compensation; or,* (6) *Whereby any existing corporation incorporated by Royal Charter or by any local or general Act of Parliament* (*not being a corporation raising for public purposes taxes, rates, cess, dues, or tolls, or administering funds so raised*) *may, unless it consents or the leave of Her Majesty is first obtained on address from the two Houses of the Irish Legislature, be deprived of its rights, privileges or property without due process of law; or* (7) *Whereby any inhabitant of the United Kingdom may be deprived of equal rights as respects public sea fisheries.—Any law made in contravention of this section shall be void.*"

This clause professes to place certain subjects outside the power of the Irish Legislature to deal with.

Mr. H. S. Foster moved an amendment to prevent the Irish Legislature from voting or granting public money, by resolution, for matters on which they are forbidden to legislate.

The amendment was resisted by the Government, and defeated.

The discussion lasted about	20 minutes
Government majority	35
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	12
British majority *against* the Government ...	15

Sir Henry James (Bury) moved the following amendment: —

"*Respecting the disposition of property for charitable, pious, or religious uses.*"

The object of the amendment was to prevent ecclesiastics obtaining property left by persons *who were on their death-beds;* and to prevent land being left for religious corporations. As the Imperial law stood it *secured* these objects, and the amendment sought to prevent the Irish Parliament from *altering* the law.

It was pointed out that the existing wholesome legislation (*i.e.*, the Mortmain laws) on this subject had been obtained after ages of struggle against ecclesiastical influence; that if this legislation was necessary in Great Britain, it was *far more* necessary in Ireland, where the priests had such power over the people; and that unless such legislation was *maintained*, throughout the whole kingdom, all the evils of olden times would be revived.

Mr. Gladstone could only answer that the Irish Legislature would not do anything contrary to present custom!

It was pointed out, however, as above remarked, that ecclesiastics had, in by-gone times, when they had the power, habitually obtained death-bed legacies; and, moreover, that in Canada, at the present time, enormous tracts of land were owned by the Roman Catholic Church—lands which were made free from all taxation. No reply, however, could be obtained from the Gladstonians on this point, and the amendment was therefore defeated.

The discussion lasted	1¼ hours
Government majority	44
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	21
British majority *against* the Government ...	11

Mr. Boscawen (Tunbridge, Kent) moved an amendment to prevent the Irish Parliament from imposing disabilities, or conferring privileges on account of *political* opinions, as well as religious opinions.

It was urged that, after the threats which the Nationalists had uttered as to what they would do to political opponents when they came into power, it was very important that this pro-

tection should be afforded the latter. During the discussion cases were instanced in which the minority, on account of their political opinions, would undoubtedly need protection, both for life and for property.

The Government resisted the amendment, which was defeated.

The discussion lasted about	2 hours
Government majority	36
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	13
British majority *against* the Government ...	16

Dr. Rentoul (East Down) moved an amendment to prevent the Irish Legislature from altering the law—which the Presbyterians at present enjoyed—regulating marriage in the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.

As a Presbyterian he (Dr. Rentoul) said he must demand this protection.

The Solicitor-General, in reply, made light of the amendment, and intimated that the danger was an imaginary one. Mr. Gladstone said the apprehensions of the Presbyterians were groundless. He ridiculed their fears, and declared that the Irish Parliament would not commit any such injustice as that which Dr. Rentoul feared.

Mr. Balfour replied that it was all very well to represent the Irish Parliament as an angelic assembly; but that when he looked back and saw the discreditable conduct and actions which the Nationalist Party had been guilty of, the trust now sought to be reposed in them was not warranted. He challenged Irish members to contradict the statement that, with regard to the Roman Catholic Church, a marriage in a Presbyterian Church was no marriage at all. Where was the harm of securing to the Presbyterian minority the privileges in question?

Mr. Macartney (South Antrim) quoted from Mr. Henry Fowler's speech, delivered at Newcastle at the last general election (*when the votes of Nonconformists were wanted*), in which he (Mr. Fowler) assured the meeting that "the Nonconformists of Ireland should have every possible safeguard." Mr. Macartney added, "We now see what these promises are worth."

There were loud cries for Mr. Fowler to justify his position, but no response was made, and the Irish members proceeded to shout down any further arguments from the Unionists.

The amendment was defeated.

The discussion lasted	¾ hour
Government majority	38
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	15
British majority *against* the Government ...	16

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 14th.—TWENTIETH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(*Clause IV.—Continued.*)

Mr. Gerald Balfour moved an amendment to prevent the Irish Parliament from making any law which should determine the qualifications, etc., of judges and judicial officers.

The amendment was defeated.

Government majority	35
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	12
British majority *against* the Government ...	19

Mr. Gerald Balfour proposed another amendment, to restrain the Irish Parliament from making laws for the purpose of diminishing the salaries or interfering with the pensions of any officers of the Crown so long as they held their offices. The object was to prevent members of the Irish Government from exercising undue influence on judicial bodies, and also to prevent the Irish Government from having the power to reduce a judge's salary or pension in case he gave an unpopular verdict. It was urged that, considering the violence and threats with which Irish Nationalists had treated judges who, in doing their duty, had been obnoxious to them, the present law should be retained in order to secure the independence of the Bench.

The amendment was defeated.

The discussion lasted	¾ hour
Government majority	42
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	19
British majority *against* the Government ...	13

THURSDAY, JUNE 15th.—TWENTY-FIRST DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(*Clause IV.—Continued.*)

Mr. Mowbray (Prestwich, Lancashire) moved an amendment to prevent the Irish Legislature from passing any law "*whereby the privileges or immunities of any of Her Majesty's subjects might be abridged.*"

It was pointed out that as the United Kingdom had no written Constitution, the Common Law was relied on for the protection of citizens; but the Bill, as it stood, enabled the Irish Parliament to *override* the Common Law, and to take no notice of it. The amendment only asked that the rights which English and Scotch citizens had under the Common Law should be secured also to all classes of the Irish people. It was shown that the American Constitution provided this safeguard, by providing that "a citizen of one State shall have the same privileges and immunities as natives of other States, when going there."

The Government had to admit that even the right of trial by jury, which was one of the chief rights of the citizens of the United Kingdom, might be done away with by the Irish Legislature.

Mr. Matthews (Birmingham) showed that under the Bill the Irish Parliament would not only have this power, but would also have the power to abolish the right of *habeas corpus*, and to repeal other Acts of the Imperial Parliament. The amendment was necessary if the loyal minority were to be protected at all.

The amendment was, however, resisted and defeated.

The discussion lasted about	2 hours
Government majority	41
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	18
British majority *against* the Government ...	15

Mr. Wyndham (Dover) moved the next amendment. As the Bill stood, the loyal minority were not to be deprived of their rights and liberties except according to "*due process of law.*"

It was contended that this was a vague term, and might mean according to *any law* which the Irish Parliament might pass, and not the Imperial law. In order to make it clear, the amendment proposed to give a definite meaning to the words, by declaring that "due process of law" *should give not less security than is given by the Common Law of the United Kingdom.* It was urged that this would test the sincerity of those who, on public platforms, advocated the protection and the safeguarding of minorities.

Sir Charles Russell and the Solicitor-General, on behalf of the Government, had to admit that the term "due process of law" could not be defined, and Mr. Bryce, amid much laughter, not only said that it could not, but that it *ought not* to be defined. It was shown, however, that on the reading of the phrase the safety of the *lives and liberties of the minority in Ireland absolutely depended.* As the Bill stood, any class of the loyal minority might have their civil and religious rights—their lives and property—placed at the mercy of an Irish-made law, and thus the protection which every citizen now enjoyed under the Common Law of the land might be abolished.

Mr. Dunbar Barton (Mid. Armagh) earnestly pleaded for the acceptance of the amendment. He showed that the Bill of Rights, freedom of the press, *habeas corpus*, trial by jury, freedom from arrest, right of appeal, and all those great constitutional rights and safeguards which the people had now secured to them under the Common Law, after centuries of struggle—rights which made the British citizen the freest subject in the world—might be abolished in Ireland by an Irish Parliament. Such powers, he contended, ought only to be held by the Imperial Parliament.

It was contended that the phrase, "due process of law," was introduced only as a sop to allay the fears of the British people. These words meant nothing unless defined as the amendment proposed. What chance, it was asked, would a loyalist, tried by a Clare jury under a law made by a Nationalist Parliament of Dublin, have if he were deprived of the protection of the Imperial law of the United Kingdom, which the humblest citizens in all parts of the country now possess?

Mr. Dunbar Barton declared as follows:—

> "As an Ulster man, I say that as a protection of life, liberty, and property the Bill is absolutely worthless. I repudiate the paper safeguard. If this is all you have to offer in exchange for the liberties of Ulster men, we shall be warranted in any course we might take to defend our own lives and liberties, and whatever course we may take would be approved by every lover of freedom in the civilised world."

The Government remained silent, but Mr. Balfour declared that the question was so important that they (the Government) could not be allowed to ride off under the cloak of silence.

Sir Charles Russell made a reply, but Sir Henry James said that no real answer at all had been given. The Government had evaded every point. Those who had framed the clause (he urged) stood convicted of having put in words of no force or meaning. He appealed to Gladstonians who said they would agree to no Home Rule that did not give securities to minorities. "Do not take my evidence," he said, "but the evidence of the Solicitor-General and the Attorney-General, in order to see that the words are absolutely worthless as safeguards."

The Irish members were in full force, and determined to have their way. The Government, therefore, while unable to answer the arguments, were obliged to resist this important amendment, which, it was shown beyond dispute, was *absolutely necessary to protect the loyal minority in Ireland.*

The amendment was defeated.

The discussion lasted about	2¾ hours
Government majority	32
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	9
British majority *against* the Government ...	21

FRIDAY, JUNE 16th.—TWENTY-SECOND DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(*Clause IV.—Continued.*)

Mr. Gerald Balfour (Leeds) moved an amendment to the effect that the words "due process of law" should be "*in accordance with the settled principles and precedents of judicial procedure, and unalterable save by action of the Imperial Parliament.*"

This was a further attempt to get some intelligible meaning of the words "due process of law."

The Government at last consented to accept the amendment in a modified form.

The Nationalist Irish members were furious at this concession, and attacked the Government for making it.

The Attorney-General, on the part of the Government, seeing the opposition which was raised by the Irish members, denied that the Government were making any concession, and said that they had accepted the words to please the Unionist Opposition, but that they did not consider them to be of much importance.

The Irish Nationalist members carried their opposition to a division against this so-called concession, but the Government, with the aid of the Opposition, were enabled to beat them by a majority of 180.

MONDAY, JUNE 19th.—TWENTY-THIRD DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(Clause IV.—Continued.)

Mr. H. Hobhouse (East Somerset) moved an amendment to the effect that *the just compensation named in the Bill should be such as is defined by the law as it at present stands.*

It was pointed out that as the clause stood "just compensation" is not defined, and would give rise to unlimited litigation. The men who issued the "No Rent" manifesto, and those who declared that the land was only worth prairie value, should not be permitted to define the meaning of "just compensation."

The Attorney-General said that an appeal might be made to the Exchequer Judges. It was pointed out that this would mean litigation in any case, but that the Exchequer Judges under the Bill were allowed *only to interfere* when the Irish Parliament dealt with matter *outside its province;* that they, the judges, had nothing to do with deciding whether legislation on matters over which the Irish Parliament had power was just or unjust, and that therefore the Irish Parliament could do what it liked in this matter.

The discussion lasted about	1 hour
Government majority	32
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	9
British majority *against* the Government ...	16

Mr. Carson (Dublin University) moved an amendment to the effect that *proceedings by petition of right should not be altered or abridged by the Irish Parliament.*

This amendment was a most important one. To understand it, it is necessary to explain that at present no subject or company can take proceedings against the Government, no matter how much they may have been injured, except they first make a petition—called the "petition of right"—to be allowed to do so. This is always granted; but, without it, no person, however much aggrieved, has any legal right to take proceedings, and would, therefore, be at the mercy of the Irish Government.

The Solicitor-General could not deny this, but fell back on the old statement as to value and power of the veto.

Mr. Carson declared that this was mere quibbling, not statesmanship, and that it was another example of the injustice which might be done to individuals and minorities under the Bill.

Mr. Shaw (Gladstonian member for the Border Burghs) said that these petitions of right were not necessary in Scotland, where individuals had the right of proceeding against the Government, and where the Crown was treated as an ordinary defendant.

The Unionists, in reply, said that they would be satisfied with the Scotch method, or by the "petition of right" as it existed in England. They only wanted, they urged, some safeguard against wrong being done, and which was likely to be done if safeguards did not exist.

The Government resisted the amendment, and it was defeated.

The discussion lasted about	1 hour
Government majority	37
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	14
British majority *against* the Government ...	14

Dr. Rentoul (East Down) moved an amendment to the effect that *the Irish Parliament should not have the power to abolish the right of "habeas corpus."*

The "*habeas corpus*," as it is called, is one of the most sacred rights belonging to every citizen in the land. It means that no man shall be imprisoned without being brought to trial at the earliest possible moment. It is considered the safeguard of all personal liberty. Without it men might be imprisoned and kept lingering in prison for any length of time. Under "*habeas corpus*" every man charged with an offence has the security that he shall, as suggested, be brought up for trial without delay, and have it decided whether he is guilty or not guilty.

Sir Henry James contended that this elementary right should only be taken away by the Imperial Parliament. He said we have to do with the fears of the Ulster men; to protect the minority; and to provide that men shall not be imprisoned without trial. As the Bill stood, the Irish Parliament would have full power over the liberties of the subject.

It was shown that the constitution of the United States prevents a State from suspending *habeas corpus* unless for rebellion or invasion. The powers which the United States Government did not give to the several States Legislatures were *proposed* to be given to Ireland.

The Government replied that the Irish would not use their power; to which it was reiterated, "Then why give it? Why not accept the amendment?"

The Attorney-General could only say that the fears expressed were groundless, and he taunted Ulster with having

needless fears. He said there was no likelihood that the Catholic majority would oppress the Protestant minority.

A stormy discussion followed. It was pointed out that the *Gladstonian candidates had pledged themselves at the election to protect the minorities in Ireland, whereas now the Government simply say, "What have we to do with Ulster's fears?"* and the Irish Government is to be allowed to mark down any opponents and imprison them without trial.

Other Unionists complained that the Government refused to listen to or answer seriously any arguments on this all-important matter.

The Irish, however, refused all concessions, and the Government had to oppose the amendment, which, accordingly, was defeated.

The discussion lasted about	2½ hours
Government majority	29
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	6
British majority *against* the Government	20

TUESDAY, JUNE 20th.—TWENTY-FOURTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(*Clause IV.—Continued.*)

Lord Wolmer (Edinburgh) moved an amendment *to prevent the Irish Parliament from passing any legislation of an "ex post facto" character.* The meaning of this was that the Irish Legislature should not make laws of a retrospective character, or that should affect proceedings which had happened in the past. As an example: Mr. Dillon had said that when they came into power they would mete out punishment to civil servants and others—police and others—who had been opposed to them. To do this the Irish Parliament would have to pass what is called an *ex post facto* law in order to be able to punish these men for what they did years before. Another example was, that if the Irish Parliament wished to reinstate tenants who had been turned out of their farms for declining to pay a fair rent, which farms might have since been let or sold to others, an *ex post facto* law might be passed extending back to years, which would have the effect of depriving the present holders of their farms in order to reinstate the tenants who had been turned out.

The Government said it was monstrous to put such a check on the Irish Parliament; but it was again asked why, if the American Constitution placed this check on their several States, a similar check should not be put on the *Irish* Parliament.

It was also pointed out that those who had taken derelict and evicted farms had been *treated as lepers;* had been punished and outraged by the Land League; and that the Irish Nationalists, when they had the additional power of an Irish Parliament,

would be likely to give full effect to their known opinions. The minority had reason to dread this vindictive legislation. It was urged that the Nationalists had never recalled their threats, and Mr. Chamberlain challenged Mr. Dillon to say if he had done so. Mr. Dillon replied that he would take no notice of the challenge unless the date and full particulars of the speech to which Mr. Chamberlain referred were given. Mr. Chamberlain immediately gave him the place and date, viz., Kilmovin, December 5th, 1886.

Mr. Balfour said he could hardly believe anyone with his eyes open could give such power to the Irish Legislature. It was insane thus further to hand over the loyal minority to such dangers. He contended that if any retrospective legislation were ever necessary it should be done by the Imperial Parliament. Any persecution—any oppression—was possible under this clause, and everything in the nature of a safeguard for the loyalist persons and minorities was utterly denied by the Government.

The amendment, however, was opposed and defeated.

The discussion lasted about	1½ hours
Government majority	30
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	7
British majority *against* the Government ...	21

Lord Wolmer moved an amendment *to prevent the Irish Parliament legislating to impair the obligation of contracts;* that is to say, that where contracts are made between parties the Irish Parliament should not upset them. It was pointed out again that this safeguard was in the American Constitution (which refused the power to the several States to impair contracts), and that, dealing as it does with all the fortunes of citizens, it should be retained by the Imperial Parliament.

Mr. Rathbone (the Gladstonian member for Carnarvonshire) spoke very strongly in favour of the amendment.

Mr. Arnold-Forster (Belfast) gave instances in which the National League held meetings, and passed sentence of fine on men who had gone against their orders, and in which instances the sentences were enforced by outrage. This was proved before the County Court Judge, who said, "If these scoundrels acted thus, they committed crime against the Queen."

It was contended that such conduct foreshadowed what would be done by a Parliament controlled by the National League.

Mr. Arnold-Forster said that the Bill was a sorry message of peace to Ulster. "*Night after night,*" he said, "*we see all safeguards for our lives and liberties refused, and we are to be handed over without protection to those who have acted in a manner strongly condemned even by the members of the present Government who are promoting this legislation.*"

The discussion was continued amidst loud interruptions from the Irish members, who were annoyed at the charges brought against them. They were challenged, however, to speak and defend themselves, but they were silent, and the Government even had nothing to say. It was pointed out that the Government reckoned on carrying their measure with a rush, and without discussion, so that the rash nature of their proposals might not be exposed.

The amendment was, however, defeated.

The discussion lasted about	3½ hours
Government majority	37
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	14
British majority *against* the Government ...	18

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 21st.—TWENTY-FIFTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(Clause IV.—Continued.)

Mr. Plunket (Dublin University) moved an amendment *to protect the constitution, privileges, and endowment of Trinity College, Dublin, and the University of Dublin.* It was shown that all tests had been removed, and that, as at present constituted, the college was open to all classes and creeds. It was also shown by speeches and writings of the Roman Catholic priests that the Catholic Church were in *deadly opposition to this united national education, whether in school or college*, and that the priests had denounced it as dangerous to faith and morals. Under the Bill the privileges and the whole constitution of the University could be changed on an address being presented for that purpose by the Irish Parliament. Mr. Plunket quoted a speech of Archbishop Walsh, made in 1886, in which he called Trinity College

> "that ancient citadel of ascendency and exclusiveness which has stood for centuries on College Green."

Referring to the Home Rule Bill of 1886, the Archbishop said:—

> "Any bribes would be offered to induce them to let it remain; but no bribes, no offers, no endowments, no honours that made a University acceptable would be acceptable to the Roman Catholic hierarchy so long as Dublin University existed as a citadel of any education that was not Catholic."

It was urged that this was plain language, and ought not to be ignored. Mr. Gladstone had to admit the action of the Roman Catholic prelates in the past, but he said that they now used more moderate language. He said it was monstrous to take this institution out of the purview of the Irish Parliament.

Mr. Courtney said it was not a question of handing over this higher education to a united nation, but to an ascendant majority, governed by an ecclesiastical party. We ought to preserve the institution as a national one under the government of the Imperial Parliament.

It was urged by the Government that the Irish Parliament would not attempt any injustice to the University, but abundant proofs were brought forward as to what was likely to take place. Mr. Plunket, as member for the University, pleaded for the protection asked for in the amendment as the only means of preserving the *national* character of the institution, and the only way in which it could be prevented from being turned into a Roman Catholic institution. He concluded an eloquent appeal on behalf of the University as follows:—

> "I can plead before any assembly her merits. The attitude of the Roman Catholic clergy makes us claim for the University that here in the clear light, in the free, fresh air of this ancient and famous Imperial Parliament, and here alone, her fate shall be decided."

The amendment was, nevertheless, defeated.

The discussion lasted about	3¾ hours
Government majority	42
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	19
British majority *against* the Government ...	12

Dr. Rentoul (East Down) moved a similar amendment *to protect the national character of Queen's College, Belfast.*

He pleaded that the three Queen's Colleges—Belfast, Galway, and Cork—were at present unsectarian; were open to all; and that the doors were shut to none. In Galway and Cork the bulk of the students were Roman Catholics, but a large number of Protestants were receiving education there as well. The priests have always done their best to keep students out of these colleges, which they call by the name of "Godless institutions." The Queen's College at Belfast was used mainly as a training college for Presbyterians and other Protestants, though being *open to all.* These bodies have no other means of education than the colleges in question, and it was contended that the fears in regard to them were well grounded, and that the priestly party who hate these colleges would lay their hands on them and change them into *sectarian* establishments.

The amendment was resisted and defeated.

The discussion lasted about	½ hour
Government majority	41
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	18
British majority *against* the Government ...	12

THURSDAY, JUNE 22nd.—TWENTY-SIXTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

To-day Mr. Gladstone brought forward the new financial clauses of the Home Rule Bill, in the place of the old ones, which had broken down through errors detected in them.

Under these clauses *the whole principle of the financial arrangements was changed*, and it was provided that one-third of the whole of the revenue of Ireland should be applied towards the Imperial charges of the United Kingdom. It was so arranged that the Irish Government should have a surplus of £500,000 per annum, which, it was admitted, was to come out of the *British* taxpayer's pocket. This sudden change of the financial arrangements was subjected to considerable criticism; but the debate on those arrangements was postponed.

The discussion on Clause IV. was then continued.

Mr. Cochrane moved an amendment *to prevent the Irish Parliament passing laws to injure or put down any voluntary lawful institution, lawfully constituted according to the laws of the United Kingdom.* This amendment was intended to protect the Society of Freemasons, whose members numbered about ten thousand in Ireland, and other societies of a similar character. It was shown that the Freemasons' Societies specially needed protection. They were *benevolent* institutions, possessed of considerable funds, but they were violently opposed by the Irish priesthood. Instances were brought forward in which they had been scandalously treated. Mr. Cochrane quoted a pastoral issued by Archbishop Walsh, and read in the Irish Churches, to the effect that the Holy See had repeatedly condemned the institution of Freemasons—had forbidden Roman Catholics to be members, and had ordered that no help should be given to it under penalty of incurring the severest strictures of the Church.

Mr. Cochrane quoted a letter by a Freemason, Mr. Lawrence Burke, Roscommon, dated June 6th, 1893, which said that his (Mr. Burke's) father had been refused the rites of burial by the parish priest because he had lived and died a Freemason; that an appeal was made to the bishop to allow the service to be held for the sake of his wife and daughter; and that the bishop refused, sending a telegram as follows:—"The law of the Church forbids rites and attendance of clergy."

Other instances of oppression were advanced, and a quotation from a Catholic newspaper was read to the effect that "between the prelates of God's Church and Masonry there could never be either peace or pact."

It was urged that the protection which the amendment would give was *absolutely necessary.*

The members of the Committee seemed impressed with the defenceless position which "Freemasons," "Free Gardeners," and other similar societies would be in under the Bill as it stood.

The Irish Nationalist members were determined, however, to have no concessions, and the Government sat silent as evidence after evidence was given for the *necessity* of the protection.

The debate was a disagreeable one to the Government, especially to Mr. Morley, who has written so much in by-gone times in favour of curtailing priestly power. He, therefore, after a short discussion, moved the *closure* in order to bring the matter to an end. Strong expressions of dissatisfaction were made at this proceeding, which left all the arguments *unanswered*, and loud cries of *indignation* were kept up for some time at the action of the Government. It was declared that the electors of Great Britain would have had their eyes opened if they could have witnessed the scene during this discussion, and the action of the Government in respect to it.

The amendment was defeated.

The discussion lasted about	¾ hour
Government majority	35
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	12
British majority *against* the Government ...	18

FRIDAY, JUNE 23rd.—TWENTY-SEVENTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(*Clause IV.—Continued.*)

It was then moved "*That Clause IV. stand part of the Bill.*"

It was pointed out that this clause was of the most complicated and extensive character; that the numerous matters dealt with were sufficient to fill four or five *Bills* in Parliament; and that the various subjects had not been and could not be adequately discussed in the time which had been allotted to the clause. The clause dealt with safeguards which affected the Irish minorities. The Opposition had tried to *protect* the Protestant minority, but though absolute pledges had been given by Gladstonian candidates on this head, yet they now declined to fulfil them. It was now clear that the Irish Parliament *might alter the whole educational system of Ireland, make it sectarian, and tax the Protestants for carrying it out;* that all the safeguards of the elementary system of education, at present so much valued by the Protestant population, as well as those affecting training schools, colleges and universities were destroyed by this clause as it stood. The various societies of Freemasons, Good Templars, etc., as well as all the Protestant denominations, Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, etc., were all deprived of any efficient safeguards. With a Parliament in Dublin under the sway of the priesthood, and the Irish members in the Parliament at Westminster to control the legislation *there*, it was a poor look-out both for the proceedings in the *British* Parliament and for the *minorities in Ireland*. It was complained that the Government had evaded and concealed the meaning of the clause, in

spite of repeated questions, until the discussion came on; that *then* the meaning had literally to be *dragged* out of them; that when the disastrous character of the clause became clear by discussion, amendments had been *refused* and discussions *closured*; that it was evident from the admissions of the Government there was a standing *compact between the Government and the Irish Nationalist Party to do all these things; and that that agreement had been kept absolutely secret from the British population.*

The Government were challenged to reply to all these accusations, but little or no reply was given, and the motion "*That Clause IV. stand part of the Bill*" was, after only two hours' discussion, passed without a division.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 28th.—TWENTY-EIGHTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

Clause V. was as follows:—

> "(1) *The executive power in Ireland shall continue vested in Her Majesty the Queen, and the Lord Lieutenant, on behalf of Her Majesty, shall exercise any prerogatives or other executive power of the Queen the exercise of which may be delegated to him by Her Majesty, and shall, in Her Majesty's name, summon, prorogue and dissolve the Irish Legislature;* (2) *There shall be an Executive Committee of the Privy Council of Ireland to aid and advise in the government of Ireland, being of such numbers, and comprising persons holding such offices, as Her Majesty may think fit, or as may be directed by Irish Act;* (3) *The Lord Lieutenant shall, on the advice of the said Executive Committee, give or withhold the assent of Her Majesty to Bills passed by the two Houses of the Irish Legislature, subject nevertheless to any instructions given by Her Majesty in respect of any such Bill.*"

Mr. Hanbury (Preston) moved an amendment *to secure that the Executive should continue to be vested in the Queen and the Lord Lieutenant.*

It was pointed out that the Lord Lieutenant would, under the Bill, be in a dual position—he would be under the Irish Parliament and under the Imperial Parliament as well; that collisions and difficulties might arise between the two Executives; that the Lord Lieutenant would have two conflicting kinds of responsibility; and that of necessity great confusion would arise unless the amendment was accepted to make matters clear.

The Government fell back on the theoretical supremacy of the Imperial Parliament over Ireland as it existed over our colonies, which, as has been shown, was a *mere paper* supremacy.

The Irish Nationalists opposed the amendment, which was therefore defeated.

The discussion lasted about	3 hours
Government majority	29
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	6
British majority *against* the Government...	13

THURSDAY, JUNE 29th.—TWENTY-NINTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

Clause 5 should have been continued to-day, but Mr. Gladstone moved a resolution which is known as the "*gagging resolution*," and which provided that the discussion on various sections or "*Compartments*" of the Bill should be concluded on certain dates, no matter whether those sections or compartments had been discussed or not. The first Compartment, containing Clauses 5 to 8, both inclusive, was to be concluded at ten o'clock on Thursday, July the 6th; the second Compartment, containing Clauses 9 to 26, both inclusive, was to be concluded at ten o'clock on Thursday, July 13th; the third Compartment, containing Clauses 27 to 40, both inclusive, was to be concluded at ten o'clock on Thursday, July the 20th; the fourth Compartment, containing all the postponed clauses, new Government clauses, schedules, and preamble, was to be concluded on Thursday, July 27th, at ten o'clock.

Thus every clause, schedule, and every other part of the Bill, no matter what, was to be finished at the last date, *whether discussed or not.*

Mr. T. W. Russell (South Tyrone) moved an amendment to this resolution as follows:—

"*That inasmuch as the Government of Ireland Bill proposes to frame and enact a new Constitution for Great Britian and Ireland, under which the constitutional rights of many of Her Majesty's subjects will be permanently and injuriously affected, this House declines to sanction a proposal which directly interferes with the free discussion of that measure by the Parliamentary representatives of the people.*"

It was urged that it was quite impossible fairly to discuss even *one clause* out of the many clauses in each compartment during the five short sittings which were allotted to such compartment. It was shown that in other countries no change in the Constitution could be brought about without a two-thirds or some other large majority; whereas the Bill in question proposed to alter *the whole Constitution of the British Empire in a few weeks with practically no discussion, whilst,* at the same time, the vital questions of the retention of the Irish members in Parliament, of the financial arrangements, and of the burdens sought to be placed on the British taxpayer, were all to be forced through against the wish and against the opposition of *a majority of the representatives of Great Britain.* All this was to be done at the instigation and by the votes of Irish Nationalist members. It was declared by the Unionist Party that such a proceeding was an outrage on Parliamentary Government, *and that a Bill forced through in this manner could have no moral weight with the Ulster people and the other loyal minorities in Ireland.*

Scathing speeches were delivered by Mr. Balfour, Mr. Chamberlain, and other Unionist members. The whole proceed-

ing was characterised *as a shameless one.* No answer, however, was given by the Government, and the amendment was defeated.

The discussion lasted	6½ hours
Government majority	29
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	6
British majority *against* the Government ...	25

Mr. Russell's *amendment* having been thus defeated, the debate on the "gagging motion" *itself* was continued.

The adjournment of the debate was moved by Baron Rothschild, on the ground that such a motion could not be disposed of in a single sitting. This was resisted. The Unionists declared that the Government were no longer acting with any *British* responsibility, but were obeying the dictates of the *Irish Nationalists* in order to *retain office.*

The motion for adjournment was, however, defeated by the small majority of only twenty-six.

It being now three o'clock in the morning (the twelve o'clock rule having been suspended), the Unionist Party determined that the discussion *should not be finished.* They declared that it was impossible for any Government to destroy the rights of Parliament whilst there was a majority of British members in opposition, and with a Government majority of only twenty-six by which the last motion was carried; and that, *rather than allow free discussion to be throttled, they were ready to sit all night.* Lord Cranborne then moved the adjournment of the debate, which was defeated by a majority of twenty-eight; but the Opposition were so determined, that the debate itself was *adjourned*, the House thereupon rising (at four o'clock in the morning), and the Speaker having been in the chair for thirteen hours.

FRIDAY, JUNE 30th.—THIRTIETH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

The debate on the "*gagging motion*" was continued.

The Prime Minister had to admit that he "loathed" the thing he was doing.

It was evident, however, that he had no option, but was compelled by his Irish masters to make this further concession to them. British members, therefore, who were in a majority in the House, and also the whole liberties of the Irish minorities, were thus to be placed in the hands of men, some of whom had been *convicted of conspiracy* against the interests of Great Britain. The Bill, it was contended, though shown to the Irish Nationalists, *who knew all about it*, had been *carefully concealed* for six years from *the people of Great Britain*, and it was now sought to force it down the throats of Parliament, by a small majority obtained, not on *Home Rule*, but on *other* questions at the general election.

The Gladstonian members sat silent when they were challenged to say if their *pledges to their constituents* at the election were not violated in every way by the action they were now taking. It was declared that each section of it required a *close and lengthened examination.* Instead of this examination, the question as to the law of conspiracy had, it was pointed out, been disposed of in just about *an hour's discussion*; the great question of bounties was also disposed of in about an hour; and the discussion of the question of Irish education under the Bill was closured in about the same time. The ninth clause itself, which was of such enormous and overwhelming importance, and which was to settle whether the Irish shall be present in the Imperial Parliament to control *British* legislation, was to be settled, under the "gagging resolution," in about four hours.

Mr. Balfour said that he had no doubt the Government were sick of the discussion, because it showed the *rotten* character of their Bill, but that, speaking on behalf of the majority in Great Britain, they desired to continue the discussion in order to show up to the constituencies the naked wickedness of the measure!

The various amendments, however, were defeated by the Government with small majorities ranging from twenty-five to thirty-four; and with majorities of British members *against* them ranging from nineteen to twenty-two.

When the amendments had been disposed of, the "gagging resolution" itself was put to the House and carried.

The discussion on this most important resolution, and on the amendments, lasted about	10 hours
Government majority	32
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	9
British majority *against* the Government	23

MONDAY, JULY 3rd.—THIRTY-FIRST DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(*Clause V. was then continued.*)

Lord Wolmer moved an amendment *to empower the Lord Lieutenant, acting under instructions from the Crown, to appoint executive officers in Ireland charged with the enforcement of Imperial legislation and the decrees of Imperial tribunals, and to secure that the constabulary should be used in support of the officers of the law appointed to carry out these duties.*

It was pointed out that under the Bill as it stood, there were no means of enforcing the decisions of the Judges or the orders of the Lord Lieutenant, or the payment of any monies due; that it was useless to depend on the Irish Executive for executing these orders, as the Irish Executive would be quite *independent* of the Imperial Parliament, and responsible only to the *Irish* Legislature. After six years, according to the Bill, there would not be

a single executive officer left in Ireland under the direct control of the *Imperial* Parliament, so that the Irish Legislature might resist the Imperial law and the decision of the Imperial Judges, and there was no power to withstand them, *except by falling back on the army and navy*. The threats of the Irish Nationalists as to what they would do when they had the power were again referred to, and it was shown by the confession of Irish members themselves that the Irish Executive could not be trusted to carry out any *Imperial* law.

The discussion on the amendment was a very stormy one. The Irish determined that there should be no concessions, and the Government were obliged to *resist* the amendment, which was accordingly defeated.

The discussion lasted about	2 hours
Government majority	34
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	11
British majority *against* the Government ...	21

TUESDAY, JULY 4th.—THIRTY-SECOND DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(*Clause V.—Continued.*)

Mr. Arnold-Forster (Belfast) moved an amendment to the effect that *the prerogative of mercy should not be exercised by the Lord Lieutenant except on the advice of the Imperial Ministry*.

It was pointed out that if the prerogative of mercy was exercised on the advice of the Irish Government great evils might be done. Dynamitards might be released; men who had now fled the country charged with murder might return and be pardoned; and outrage-mongers, moonlighters, and those who enforced the orders of the *Land League* might all have their offences condoned.

Sir Henry James said that the prerogative of mercy should remain, as at the present time, exercised only on the advice of the Imperial Ministry, and that, if the amendment was not accepted, the administration of all criminal justice would be handed over purely and simply to the Irish Executive.

The discussion on the amendment was characterised by *continual interruption from the Irish Nationalists*.

Mr. Arnold-Forster was not allowed to speak without *constant* noise and interruption.

The Government resisted the amendment, and, by the aid of the Irish Nationalists, it was therefore defeated.

The discussion lasted about	2 hours
Government majority	37
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	14
British majority *against* the Government ...	21

Sir Henry James moved an amendment providing that the *Irish Cabinet should consist of persons appointed by Her Majesty, and not by the Irish Legislature.*

He pointed out that the scheme of the Bill as it stood was crude and unworkable, and he stated that he hoped the Government would enter upon the discussion with *some desire* to meet the objections urged against it.

The Government resisted the amendment, which was defeated.

The discussion lasted about	1½ hours
Government majority	33
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	10
British majority *against* the Government ...	20

WEDNESDAY, JULY 5th.—THIRTY-THIRD DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(*Clause V. was continued.*)

THURSDAY, JULY 6th.—THIRTY-FOURTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(*Clause V.—Continued.*)

Lord Wolmer moved an amendment to the effect that *the Lord Lieutenant should not give or withhold his assent to Bills passed by the Irish Legislature on the advice of the Irish Executive Committee.*

The Government resisted the amendment, and could only advance their usual argument, viz., that of *trusting* the Lord Lieutenant and the Irish Parliament. It was urged, however, that this again raised the question of the value of the veto.

Sir Henry James pointed out that the Opposition, and therefore the majority of the British public, had been over and over again told the veto of the Lord Lieutenant was to be the great *safeguard;* but that the Bill proposed to give that veto to a man who *could not exercise it*—which reduced the Bill to an *absurdity.* What was the value, he *asked,* of a veto given by the Executive Committee in Ireland to the very men who thought it right to *carry the Bill* which really ought to be *vetoed?*

Mr. Balfour said that if the Government would not accept the amendment he hoped they would never again throw the veto in their faces. Let them, now that they had the opportunity, make the veto a *reality,* or let them for ever hold their peace about it.

The amendment was defeated.

The discussion lasted about	2¾ hours
Government majority	42
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	19
British majority *against* the Government ...	15

Lord Cranborne (Rochester) moved an amendment to *enable the Lord Lieutenant to veto any part of a Bill.*

He showed that there might be a Bill generally approved of, but that there might be a single clause or so in it which would do great injustice to the minorities in Ireland. He therefore urged that there ought to be a power in the Home Rule Bill to enable the Lord Lieutenant to veto an objectionable clause instead of having to veto the remainder of the Bill, which might be of a beneficial character.

The Government opposed the amendment, which was rejected.

The discussion lasted about	1¼ hours
Government majority	46
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	23
British majority *against* the Government ...	15

Lord Wolmer moved an amendment for *reserving power to the Queen not only to give or reserve her consent to a Bill, but to disallow it altogether.* He said that this provision was found in the Constitution of all our Colonies, and that it had been acted upon over and over again with great benefit to the integrity of the Imperial legislation.

Mr. Balfour argued in favour of the amendment, pointing out the great advantages the amendment would secure, how that its provisions acted well in the Colonial Parliaments, and that it was absolutely necessary that it should be inserted in the Bill. Mr. Balfour was speaking at 10 o'clock, the hour at which the *gagging* resolution came into operation. The Chairman rose to put the question, and was met by loud cries of "*Shame*" and "*Gag*" from the House.

The division on Lord Wolmer's amendment was then taken.

Government majority	38
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	15
British majority *against* the Government ...	18

The motion was then made that *Clause 5 be added to the Bill*, and there were at the same time loud and prolonged Unionist cries of "*No*," mingled with shouts of "*Shame*" and "*Gag*."

Discussion	None
The motion was not and could not be discussed *in consequence of the gag.*	
Government majority	35
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	12
British majority *against* the Government ...	20

The announcement of these small majorities was received by prolonged Opposition cheers.

The addition of Clause 6, which deals with the important question of the *composition of the Irish Legislative Council, which is to be a sort of House of Lords* of the Irish Legislature, was then moved.

Discussion	None
Government majority	15
Majority *against* the Government after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	8
British majority *against* the Government	40

At the announcement of these numbers the whole Unionist Opposition rose to their feet, and a scene of great uproar and confusion ensued.

The addition of Clause 7 was then moved.

This clause deals with the *composition of the Legislative Assembly*, which is to be *the House of Commons* of Ireland. It is a clause which settles all the numbers of members, etc., and is one of the most important in the Bill.

Time of discussion	None
Government majority	36
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	13
British majority *against* the Government	17

The addition of Clause 8 was then moved.

This clause provides for the *settlement of disagreements which may arise between the two Houses of the Irish Parliament.*

Time of discussion	None
Government majority	32
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	9
British majority *against* the Government	24

The sitting then came to an end.

Great indignation was expressed that the important clauses referred to had been passed without discussion and without the power of any possible amendment being made to any of them. Some of the Gladstonians had evidently walked out without voting, and several voted on one occasion *against* the Government. Loud cheers for the Unionist party were given when the majority fell to the lowest point yet reached, viz., 15.

FRIDAY, JULY 7th—THIRTY-FIFTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

After other business which occupied most of the sitting was disposed of, Clause 9 was proceeded with.

This clause provided *that the Irish members should remain in the Imperial House of Commons after they had a Parliament of their own in Dublin.* The number to be retained was eighty, and they were to vote on Imperial questions only, and not on British questions, so far as a distinction between two sets of questions could be secured. The discussion on the clause was only just entered on when the hour arrived for the adjournment of the House.

MONDAY, JULY 10th—THIRTY-SIXTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(*Clause IX. continued.*)

Mr. Heneage (Grimsby) moved an amendment *to provide that after the Irish had a Parliament of their own they should cease to return members to the Imperial House of Commons.*

The impossible character of the arrangement of having Irish members voting on some questions and not voting on others; and of putting the Government in a majority to-day and in a minority to-morrow was pointed out.

It was urged that after giving Ireland a Parliament with full power over its own concerns, with an executive responsible to that Parliament, over which the Imperial Government had no control—it would be intolerable that Irish members should be at Westminster to control *British legislation, to hamper British proceedings, and to impose taxes on the British people which Irish people would not have to pay;* whilst, at the same time, the *British* Parliament would have no right to interfere with *Irish* concerns.

Mr. Chamberlain quoted a speech from Lord Rosebery, showing how ridiculous the scheme under consideration would make the British Parliament in the eyes of the world.

He also referred to a speech from Sir George Trevelyan, in which that gentleman declared that

> "The Irish will not only be absolute masters of their own Parliament in Dublin, but they will be absolute masters in *our* Parliament at Westminster."

Speeches from other members of the Government were quoted in which they strongly declared against the proposition. It was recalled to mind how that the Prime Minister had said on more than one occasion that it "*passed the wit of man*" to devise a scheme for doing that which the clause now *attempted* to do, and that he had *pledged himself to be no party to any proposal to retain Irish members in the British Parliament after they had a Parliament of their own.*

Mr. Balfour quoted a speech from Mr. Morley in 1886, at Newcastle, wherein he said:—

> "I do not care where you draw the line in theory, but you may depend upon it there is no power on earth which can prevent Irish members, if retained at Westminster, from being in the future Parliament what they have ever been in the past—the arbitrators and masters of English policy, of English legislative business, and of the rise and fall of British Administrations."

Mr. Gladstone rose to move the closure, when there were considerable manifestations of disapprobation, mingled with cries of "Shame." There was great indignation at this important amendment having been closured with practically *no answer and no defence from the Government.*

The closure was carried by a majority of thirty.

Mr. Heneage's amendment was then put and defeated.

The discussion lasted about	4½ hours
Government majority	31
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	8
British majority *against* the Government ...	27

TUESDAY, JULY 11th.—THIRTY-SEVENTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(*Clause IX.—Continued.*)

Sir Charles Dilke moved an amendment for the *purpose of altering the constitution of the future Irish constituencies as set forth in Schedule 2.*

It was pointed out that the small constituencies in Ireland have the same representation as many of the constituencies in England and Wales containing 12,000 and 14,000, and in some cases 18,000 electors. For instance, Newry, Kilkenny, and Galway, with about 5,000 electors each, have three members; while Cardiff, with 18,000 electors, has only one; in other words, the Irish constituencies have eleven times the amount of representation of districts in Great Britain.

The amendment was, however, defeated.

The discussion lasted about	2 hours
Government majority	30
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	7
British majority *against* the Government ...	28

Mr. Seton-Karr (St. Helens) moved an amendment with the *object of limiting the number of Irish members in the House of Commons to forty-eight instead of eighty.*

In the course of the discussion, Mr. Brodrick (Guildford) referred incidentally to the Irish as "an impecunious and garrulous race." The Irish members chose to apply this reference to *themselves*, and Mr. Sexton declared that such language "was grossly impertinent." Scenes of great disorder followed. The Chairman ruled that Mr. Sexton must withdraw his expression as being out of order. Mr. Sexton refused, and repeated the offence. A discreditable scene followed, lasting for a long time. This was caused by the objectionable conduct of the Irish Nationalist members. Not only was the ruling of the Chairman disregarded, but Mr. Milman, the Clerk at the table, was in-

sulted. Mr. Morley and Mr. Gladstone interfered, but only in a half-hearted way, and failed in their duty to sustain the authority of the Chairman, who, and the Clerk, were so rudely assailed. The Prime Minister, in effect, simply asked Mr. Sexton to accede to the wishes of the chair; he did not exhibit the slightest firmness in support of the Chairman's ruling. The Chairman requested Mr. Sexton to retire in accordance with the standing order. This Mr. Sexton declined to do, until the Prime Minister expressed a hope that he would do so. Mr. Sexton then retired, whereupon the ruling of the Chairman was again challenged. The scene, altogether, was a disgraceful one, and showed to what a pitch of excitement the House was arriving through the disorderly and aggressive action of the Irish members; through the weakness of the Government in allowing such conduct; and through the conduct of the Government in imposing the "gag" and closure on the free discussion of the important questions in hand.

Mr. Seton-Karr's amendment was defeated by a majority of thirty-three.

Dr. Rentoul (East Down) then moved an amendment with the *object of giving the Royal University of Ireland two members of Parliament.*

The amendment was defeated.

The discussion lasted about	½ hour
Government majority	29
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	6
British majority *against* the Government ...	24

Mr. Parker Smith (Partick) moved an amendment to the *effect that Dublin University should continue to be represented in Parliament.*

This amendment was under discussion when the House adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 12th.—THIRTY-EIGHTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(*Clause IX.—Continued.*)

Mr. Parker Smith's amendment with respect to Dublin University was proceeded with.

The arguments against the disfranchisement of the University were stated. Fresh arguments were brought forward, showing that the University might be changed from its *national* to a *sectarian* character, or be dealt with in any other way that suited a Roman Catholic Parliament in Dublin, and that there would be no representative in the House of Commons to *plead the cause*

of the University. The Government, however, refused all concessions, and the amendment was defeated.

The discussion lasted about	4½ hours
Government majority	32
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	9
British majority *against* the Government ...	22

At half-past four Mr. Gladstone rose to make an important alteration in sub-sections 3 and 4 of the clause, which sub-sections dealt with the retention of Irish members in the British Parliament. As the Bill stood, those members were to be allowed to vote only on *Imperial* matters—a course of procedure which has already been described as the "*In-and-Out*" plan. This arrangement was now to be done away with, and Mr. Gladstone announced that the Government had decided to retain the eighty Irish members in the British Parliament, *with unlimited voting power;* that is to say, they were to vote on *every* question which came before Parliament, precisely as at the present time. They were to have absolute control over Irish affairs in the Parliament at Dublin, and at the same time to have the control of British affairs in the Parliament at Westminster.

Mr. Rathbone (Gladstonian member for Carnarvon) made a strong speech against the proposal. He declared that

> "It would largely increase the difficulties of British legislation, and demoralise our whole political life." He could not, he said, "conceive that any such inequitable or unworkable arrangement could be accepted, or would be accepted by the constituencies of Great Britain."

He showed that if the Irish members were to take part in British legislation in which they had no interest, they would inevitably use their position to obtain Imperial credit and Imperial resources for Irish objects; and that they would be put under the inevitable temptation to employ their powers to impede legislation in order to force fresh concessions from Parliament.

Mr. Wallace (Gladstonian member for Edinburgh) followed with an able speech, also in opposition to the proposals of the Government. He said no weaker or more inconclusive reasons could be given for the change than had been given by the Prime Minister. It amounted to the entire revolutionising of the Bill. He said that

> "The Bill was no longer a measure to give self-government to Ireland, but became a proposal to take away self-government from Great Britain."

The honourable member was speaking at half-past five, which was the hour for adjournment.

THURSDAY, JULY 13th.—THIRTY-NINTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(Clause IX.—Continued.)

Mr. Wallace continued his speech against the new proposal of the Government to give the Irish members power of unlimited voting. He said that the proposal was one for "putting Great Britain under the hoof of Ireland." He went on to say that the Irish were "to-night going to vote themselves into the dominion over British affairs with which they ought to have nothing to do." He added that his fellow Home Rulers might say, "We will get votes honestly if we can; but by all means let us get votes." If that was what they said, he "for one would refuse to join what would be," in his opinion, "political rascality." He warned the Government that when the Bill went down to the country and was understood by the people, it would create great opposition.

Mr. Gladstone made a reply, in which he did not deal with the arguments, but went into irrelevant matter as to the conduct of the Opposition when in office in 1886 in the appointment of the Irish Land Commission.

Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that that had nothing to do with the question. He reminded Mr. Gladstone of his speech at Manchester on June 25th, 1886, in which he said:—

> "I will not be a party to a legislative body to manage Irish concerns, and at the same time to have Irish members in London acting and voting on English and Scotch questions."

He pointed out that both with regard to the financial arrangements of Home Rule and the retention of Irish members, these great changes had been made *suddenly and without warning*, that the secret had been kept up to within a few hours of the time when the closure would be applied and all discussion stopped. It was deceiving the House of Commons and the Country. On account of the closure it would be impossible to discuss these proposals, but the issue was now plain before the constituencies. He concluded by saying:—

> "That issue is, whether the interests of Great Britain are to be controlled by delegates from Ireland nominated by priests, elected by illiterates, and subsidised by the enemies of this country. Upon that issue we shall appeal confidently to the verdict of the country."

Mr. Atherley-Jones (Gladstonian member for North-West Durham) protested against the proposals of the Government. He spoke amidst rude and unmannerly interruptions from the Irish Nationalist members. He said this was a vital question, and declared that though he might be stopped by clamour in the House, yet he believed that he spoke the opinions of the people of Great Britain. He was speaking when the hour of 10 arrived, at which the gagging resolution of the Government came into force. The Chairman rose amid loud shouts of "Gag"

and "Shame" to put the question *that eighty Irish members be retained in Parliament to vote on all questions.*

The resolution was carried.

The discussion lasted about	5 hours
Government majority	27
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	4
British majority *against* the Government ...	34

The announcement of these figures was received with loud Unionist cheers.

The question *That Clause IX. as thus amended be added to the Bill*, was then put and carried.

Time of discussion	None
Government majority	29
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	6
British majority *against* the Government ...	32

The addition of Clause 10 was then moved and carried.

Clause 11, which referred to the revenues and income-tax, and Clauses 12 and 13, which referred to the financial arrangements between the United Kingdom, were, on the motion of the Government, struck out of the Bill.

Clauses 14, 15, and 16 were postponed.

Clause 17, which referred to local taxation, was struck out of the Bill.

It was then moved *that Clause* 18 *be added to the Bill.* This clause provided that the imposition of taxes should originate in the Legislative Assembly in Ireland. The clause was carried.

Time of discussion	None
Government majority	34
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	11
British majority *against* the Government ...	27

Clause 19, which refers to the Exchequer Judges and to their powers over matters connected with the revenues, election petitions, etc., was then moved and was added to the Bill.

Time of discussion	None
Government majority	34
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	11
British majority *against* the Government ...	27

Clauses 20 and 21, which referred to the Post and Telegraph Offices and the Post Office Savings Bank, were struck out of the Bill.

Clause 22 was then moved. This clause abolishes appeals from the courts in Ireland to the House of Lords, and substitutes appeals to the Queen in Council.

Time of discussion	None
Government majority	33
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	10
British majority *against* the Government	23

Clause 23 was then moved and added to the Bill.

Time of discussion	None
Government majority	35
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	12
British majority *against* the Government	26

Clause 24, which refers to the appointment of the Lord Lieutenant, was then added to the Bill.

Time of discussion	None
Government majority	35
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	12
British majority *against* the Government	25

Clause 25, which refers to Crown lands, buildings, etc., in Ireland, was then added to the Bill without discussion by a majority of thirty-five, and a British majority *against* the Government of twenty-six.

Clause 26, which refers to the appointment and removal of judges, was also carried without discussion by a majority of thirty-four, but with a British majority *against* the Government of twenty-seven.

This was the last of the clauses included in the second "compartment," and the small majorities by which they were carried were received with loud cheers by the Unionists.

FRIDAY, JULY 14th.—FORTIETH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

The third "compartment" of the Bill, which included 14 clauses (27 to 40, both inclusive), stood next for discussion, but before proceeding further it was necessary, according to Parliamentary rules, to move a formal resolution to give power to the Irish Government to make the various payments required under the Home Rule Bill. Mr. Morley accordingly moved the financial resolution, and his speech opened up a discussion on this *new scheme* of finance, in place of the original scheme, which had *broken down.*

The proposals were criticised by the Opposition. It was declared to be "*cruelly unfair*" to the British people to tax them for the Irish Government, and at the same time to permit eighty

Irish members in the British Parliament to control British affairs. In the Home Rule Bill of 1886 the Prime Minister said that the fair share of the Irish contribution to Imperial expenses was *one-fifteenth*. *Now* it was proposed it should be *one-twenty-seventh* according to the Government statement; whereas it would be actually only *one-fortieth*. The difference would be between one and two millions sterling, which would have to come out of *the British taxpayer's pocket*. While the British people were required to pay 35s. per head of the population towards Imperial expenses, the Irish, who received the same benefits, were to be let off with 6s. 6d. per head of population.

It was urged by the Government that the Irish were a poor people, and could not afford more.

The reply to this was that the *poor* people of England and Scotland *also* paid taxes, and that it was enough for *them* to pay *their share* and not that of other people (the Irish).

Mr. Morley's motion itself was a formal one, and there was no division on it, but it was necessary to discuss the financial propositions it contained in order to *bring out clearly and exactly what the Government proposals were*. After three hours' discussion on this financial resolution, the consideration of the third "compartment" of the Home Rule Bill was postponed till Monday.

MONDAY, JULY 17th.—FORTY-FIRST DAY IN COMMITTEE.

As Friday's sitting was taken up by the discussion of Mr. Morley's financial resolution and other matters, the consideration of the clauses of the Home Rule Bill in the third "compartment" began to-day.

This "compartment" contains, as already stated, 14 clauses (27 to 40, both inclusive). Under the "gagging" resolution carried by the Government, each "compartment" was to be discussed for five sittings and then closured, no further discussion being allowed. There remained, therefore, only to-day, Tuesday, Wednesday, and until 10 o'clock on Thursday for the debate *on the fourteen clauses contained in this the third compartment*. As these clauses contained provisions affecting the judges, civil servants, officers and men of the constabulary, the land, and other controversial matters of great importance, many of them being equal to as many separate Bills (demanding weeks fairly to discuss each one of them) it was evident that the Government were determined to force their Home Rule Bill through without a fair discussion on any of the clauses, and as regards a large number of important provisions without any discussion at all.

Clause 27.

This clause deals with the *position and rights of the superior judges, of the county court judges, of the land commissioners, and of all existing officers serving in Ireland in the permanent*

civil service. These officials are now under the Imperial Government, and they have all been more or less threatened by the Irish Nationalists with punishment if they, the Irish Nationalists, should ever get Home Rule. As many of them have, by administering the law and doing their duty, made themselves obnoxious to the Nationalists, who are, under the Bill, at the end of six years to become their masters, it was felt by the Unionists that they had a moral and legal claim to be protected.

Mr. Seton-Karr (St. Helens) then moved two amendments to *make the protection of certain officials more definite, one of which was withdrawn and the other defeated by a majority of forty-five.*

Clause 27 was then added to the Bill without a division.

Clause 28.

Mr. Morley made a statement *explaining the proposals of the Government for dealing with all the civil servants of the Crown.* The total number of persons affected in this service would be 1,201. The statement in question occupied the remainder of the sitting and the House adjourned.

TUESDAY, JULY 18th.—FORTY-SECOND DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(*Clause 28.—Continued.*)

Mr. T. W. Russell moved an amendment *to include the principal teachers of National schools in Ireland so that they might have the same protection as the Government claimed to give to civil servants.*

He urged that the teachers in the Model schools in Ireland were included, and therefore the principal teachers in the National schools ought to be in the same position. The Government opposed the amendment, which was defeated.

The discussion lasted about	½ hour
Government majority	71
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	48

Mr. Balfour then moved an amendment to the effect *that no Irish civil servant should be dismissed by the Irish Government without having the offer of being transferred to the British civil service.*

It was pointed out that as these civil servants had been engaged by the Imperial Government, that Government were under the obligation to see that they were not thrown out on the world. Mr. Balfour was rudely interrupted in his speech, and further insults were offered to Mr. Milman, the Clerk at the table. Mr. Balfour pointed out the threats that had been made by Irish Nationalists as to how they would clear out these civil servants and officials when they had the power, and that

these declarations could not be ignored. It was likely that the officials would be subject to tyranny, and their lives be made a burden to them. It was admitted by all that these men had done their duty, and it was contended that they ought not to be abandoned and cast adrift in the prime of life, with a small pittance as a pension which, with their families and responsibilities, would even mean ruin.

The Government were effusive in the praises of the civil servants, but could only fall back on the oft-repeated answer that the Irish Government would do nothing wrong!

The amendment was defeated.

The discussion lasted about	2½ hours
Government majority	42
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	19

WEDNESDAY, JULY 19th.—FORTY-THIRD DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(*Clause 28.—Continued.*)

The Irish Nationalist members exhibited the utmost tenacity in securing every sixpence of money possible to the Irish Government *at the expense* of the British people. After a protest from the Unionist party as to the necessity for safeguards for the rights of the civil servants, and against the injustice inflicted on them, Clause 28 was added to the Bill without a division.

Clause 29.

This clause deals with *the machinery and methods for carrying out the arrangements made with regard to the civil service*, and was added to the Bill without a division, and the House adjourned.

THURSDAY, JULY 20th.—FORTY-FOURTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

Clause 30.

This clause provides that *the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police shall be gradually reduced and ultimately cease to exist when and as local police forces are from time to time established in Ireland under Irish control.*

Mr. T. H. Bolton (St. Pancras) moved an amendment with the *object of giving the Lord Lieutenant a discretionary power to retain the Irish Constabulary beyond the six years named in the Bill, should events make this course necessary.*

The amendment was opposed by the Irish and by the Government, and was defeated.

The discussion lasted about	1¾ hours
Government majority	32
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	9
British majority *against* the Government ...	25

Mr. Sexton moved an amendment, *demanding the right not only of having a central police force, but of having a force drilled and armed.*

Mr. T. W. Russell pointed out that this demand of the Irish Nationalists *foretold the state of things which would exist under Home Rule.* The Irish Nationalists knew, he said, perfectly well that if ever this Bill became law the Ulster people would not submit to it, and their (the Nationalists') object was to have a central force to enable them to coerce the people of Belfast and Londonderry.

The Unionist party joined the Government in opposing Mr. Sexton's amendment, which was defeated by a majority of 127.

Mr. John Morley then moved an amendment, which had been promised by the Government at a previous period in the debate. This amendment was to the effect *that no force organised and armed as the present police force or in any other manner than that of a civil police should be created by the Irish Parliament.*

Mr. Sexton opposed this, declaring that if men in Ireland rose in arms against the Irish Government they should have the right to use an armed force against them.

It was pointed out, however, that the local police would have the military to assist them in case of need in the same manner as local authorities in other parts of the kingdom. The debate on this amendment was proceeding, and Mr. Bartley was speaking, when 10 o'clock, the time for the closure of this compartment arrived.

The Chairman proceeded forthwith to put the question.

This proceeding was hailed with shouts of "*Gag*" and "*Closure*" amid a scene of great excitement.

An amendment by Mr. Sexton was negatived without a division.

Mr. Morley's amendment was carried, *with the assistance of the Unionist members*, by a large majority. It is noteworthy *that forty-nine Nationalist members voted in favour of having this central force.* It would be difficult under the Bill to find anything *to prevent* them having such a force when once they got an Irish Parliament and Executive.

The motion, "*That Clause* 30 *be added to the Bill*," was then put and carried.

Government majority	26
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	3
British majority *against* the Government ...	25

The announcement of this small majority was received with loud Opposition cheers.

It was then moved, "*That Clause* 31 *be added to the Bill.*"

Time of discussion	None
Government majority	34
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	11
British majority *against* the Government ...	24

Clause 32.

This clause provides *for the extension to each of the two Houses of the Irish Legislature the present laws relating to elections, but enables those laws to be altered by the Irish Parliament.*

This clause was added to the Bill.

Time of discussion	None
Government majority	34
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	11
British majority *against* the Government ...	24

Clause 33.

This clause contains *supplementary provisions as to the powers of the Irish Legislature.*

The clause was added to the Bill.

Time of discussion	None
Government majority	35
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	12
British majority *against* the Government ...	22

Clause 34.

This clause was added to the Bill without discussion and without a division.

Clause 35.

This clause, which placed *some temporary restrictions of powers on the Irish Legislature and Executive*, was opposed by the Irish and a certain number of extreme Gladstonians.

The clause was added to the Bill by a large majority.

Clause 36.

Clause 36 *contains certain temporary provisions for setting up the Irish Legislature and Government and for otherwise bringing the Bill into operation.*

This clause was added to the Bill.

Time of discussion	None
Government majority	34
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	11
British majority *against* the Government ...	25

Clause 37.

Clause 37 was added to the Bill without a division.

Clause 38.

Clause 38 *dealt with the date on which the Home Rule Bill was to come into force.*

This was added to the Bill.

Time of discussion	None
Government majority	34
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	11
British majority *against* the Government	24

The last clause in the "compartment" *was the title of the Bill.* It was passed without a division.

FRIDAY, JULY 21st. —FORTY-FIFTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

The debate on the fourth "compartment" of the Bill began to-day. This compartment included *the preamble of the Bill, all the schedules, the postponed clauses, all the new Government clauses;* and the whole "compartment" was to be closured by the "gagging" resolution at 10 o'clock on Thursday, the 27th.

Mr. Gladstone moved the second reading of the *new clause* dealing with the *financial arrangements between Great Britain and Ireland.* This was the *third* financial scheme brought forward by the Government, the first two *having broken down through their unworkable character.* The new scheme provided that one-third of the general revenue of Ireland should be paid as the Irish contribution to the expenses of the Imperial Government, the remaining two-thirds being retained by the *Irish* Government. The collection and management of the Irish revenue were to remain in the hands of the Imperial Government. This arrangement was to last for six years, after which time all matters relating to the collection and management of Irish taxation, except the customs and excise duties, were to be handed over to the Irish Legislature, and the Irish contribution to Imperial expenses was then to be revised.

Mr. Chamberlain subjected the scheme to a very severe criticism, pointing out that if Ireland paid according to her *taxable* capacity, that is, according to her *wealth,* the sum paid towards the Imperial expenses should be *one-fourteenth* of the whole amount. Under the new scheme, reckoning a sum of five hundred thousand pounds to be given as a free gift, the amount that Ireland would have to pay would only be *one-thirtieth.* Besides this, the whole of the cost of collecting the Irish revenue was to be paid by the *British* Government; so that the actual sum which Ireland would be called upon to pay was only *one-fortieth.* The Government were asked why, if Ireland was to have an

independent Legislature, the British taxpayer was to be called upon to supply money for that purpose. This financial arrangement, it was urged, in connection with the retaining of eighty Irish members in the British Parliament, would place our whole system of taxation at the mercy of the Irish people. Ireland would have the same advantages of the Imperial expenditure upon the Army, Navy, etc., as the Scotch and English; but, under the Government proposals, while the British people would, as already stated, have to pay thirty-five shillings per head for Imperial expenses, the Irish would only have to pay six shillings and sixpence per head.

Mr. Fowler (Wolverhampton) defended the scheme, but he had to make up an array of figures which could not be relied on; to admit that the whole expenses of collecting the Irish revenue would fall on the *British* Government; and that the half million per annum referred to was a "*distinct bonus*" to be *given* to the Irish Government. He said, however, that the English people would not reject Home Rule "*on a miserable pounds, shillings, and pence objection.*"

MONDAY, JULY 24th.—FORTY-SIXTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

The discussion on the *second reading of the new financial clause was continued.*

The scheme contained therein was still further criticised. From the speeches made by Nationalist members, it was shown that even these liberal terms would be no *settlement*, but that further concessions were, and would be, demanded.

Mr. Redmond (Waterford) boldly requested that the *third* of the Irish revenue demanded to be paid towards Imperial expenses should be reduced to *one-fourth.*

The debate was continued till midnight, when the second reading of the financial clause was put and carried.

The discussion lasted about	11½ hours
Government majority	35
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	12
British majority *against* the Government ...	24

TUESDAY, JULY 25th.—FORTY-SEVENTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(*The consideration of the financial clause was continued.*)

Mr. Chamberlain moved an amendment *to do away with the transitional period of six years altogether.* His object was to secure a settlement of some sort. It was pointed out that the object of the Government was plain. The Irish Nationalist members had made far larger demands, which they were deter-

mined to have. The Government, however, dared not yield to these demands all at once, as that would be too much for their supporters to accept. The present arrangement was, therefore, made for six years, in order to hoodwink the British people, but at the end of six years the Irish knew that they would have everything their own way. Mr. Chamberlain further criticised these financial proposals, and showed that they meant a complete surrender, at the end of six years, of all Irish demands.

Mr. Gladstone replied in an angry manner, giving no answer to the arguments, but indulging in strong personal remarks, and showing great annoyance at the scheme being thus exposed.

The debate was continued till midnight, when the House adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 26th.—FORTY-EIGHTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(*The discussion on Mr. Chamberlain's amendment was continued.*)

It was pointed out that the Government had urged, as one of the advantages of Home Rule, that it would settle the Irish question, but it was now seen that it was all *transitional*, and that six years hence they were to go through the whole thing again. The Irish Nationalist members, instead of accepting the Bill as a boon, had told them frankly that it was not accepted as a final settlement, but only for what it was worth.

Mr. Balfour and Sir John Lubbock urged the Government in vain to reply to the arguments made in favour of the amendment.

The amendment was defeated by a majority of sixty.

Sir John Lubbock then moved to omit sub-sections two, three, four, and five. These sub-sections introduced confusion in the financial arrangements, and he quoted figures and gave illustrations to show that the plans in these sub-sections were unpractical and unworkable, and grievously unfair to the English and Scotch taxpayers. The amendment was defeated.

The discussion lasted about.....	2¼ hours
Government majority	47
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	24
British majority *against* the Government ...	8

THURSDAY, JULY 27th.—FORTY-NINTH DAY IN COMMITTEE.

(*The discussion on the financial clause continued.*)

Mr. Clancy (Dublin Co., N.) moved an amendment *to guarantee to the Irish Government a surplus of five hundred thousand pounds each year.* The object of this amendment was

to secure that no matter what the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer should spend, and no matter what the Irish revenue might be, there should always be a surplus of half a million secured to the Irish Government by the Imperial Parliament, which surplus was to come out of the British taxpayers' pockets.

Mr. Chamberlain pointed out the changes which had been made in the Bill since its introduction, and that every change had been supported by the Gladstonians. The question of the retention of Irish members had been altered in a way directly opposite to the pledges given to the constituencies. The Bill had been changed in *most* of its vital features, and every change had been supported slavishly by the followers of the Government. The Prime Minister, he said,

> "Calls 'black,' and they say, 'It is good'; the Prime Minister calls 'white,' and they say, 'It is better.' It is always the voice of a god. Never since the time of Herod has there been such slavish adulation."

He was here interrupted by the Irish members by loud and insulting cries, and not a word was heard above the din which prevailed. It being 10 o'clock, the hour for applying the "gagging resolution," the Chairman arose to put the question. A scene of uproar now began such as was probably never seen in the House of Commons before. Loud cries of "Order," "Gag," "Shame," "Judas," "Clear the House," and "Name," were heard. The Chairman found it impossible to keep order or to make himself heard.

Mr. Logan (Harborough) crossed over and sat on the front Opposition bench. An attempt was made by Mr. Fisher to eject him from this position. Irish Nationalist members rushed in a body to the Unionist benches. Members were struggling with one another and blows were struck. Colonel Saunderson was struck on the head and a free fight went on. The Prime Minister was looking on at the scene, evidently pained with what he saw. Opposite to him was Sir Ashmead Bartlett who, under great excitement, shouted to the Prime Minister, "*This is your doing.*" No division took place, and the doors were thrown open. The Speaker was sent for, and he returned to the House and took the chair. An account of the disgraceful scene was laid before him by Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Mellor, and Mr. Balfour. It was shown that the cause of the row was the interruptions and the insults with which Mr. Chamberlain was assailed.

Mr. Clancy's amendment was ultimately negatived without a division.

A new financial clause was then moved and carried.

Time of discussion	None
Government majority	21
Majority *against* the Government after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	2
British majority *against* the Government ...	30

The announcement of this small majority was received with loud and prolonged Unionist cheers.

A new Government clause was then moved (to follow Clause 9) *dealing with the Irish consolidated fund and Irish revenues.*

Time of discussion	None
Government majority	33
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	10
British majority *against* the Government ...	26

A new clause was then moved (after Clause 16) *dealing with local taxation and other matters;* and also another new clause (after Clause 19) *dealing with the Irish Post Office revenue and expenditure, and a definition clause* (after Clause 38). These were added to the Bill without any division.

The clauses which had been postponed during the debate were then taken.

Clause 15, *dealing with the Irish Church fund, was carried.*

Time of discussion	None
Government majority	33
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	10
British majority *against* the Government ...	25

Clause 16, which relates *to local loans, was carried.*

Time of discussion	None
Government majority	33
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	10
British majority *against* the Government ...	25

The *first schedule* of the Bill was then moved. This schedule *names and defines the forty-eight constituencies which are to elect members to the Irish Upper House.*

The schedule was carried.

Time of discussion	None
Government majority	33
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	10
British majority *against* the Government ...	25

The *second schedule* of the Bill was then moved. This schedule *fixes the number of members in the Irish House of Commons, and names the constituencies which are to return those members.*

Time of discussion	None
Government majority	17
Majority *against* the Government after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	6
British majority *against* the Government ...	29

The smallness of the majority against this important schedule, which was passed without discussion, was received with loud Unionist cheers.

The *third schedule, dealing with Imperial liabilities and expenditure*, was added to the Bill without a division.

The *fourth* and *sixth schedules, dealing with the Post Office and the Royal Irish Constabulary*, were, on the motion of the Government, struck out of the Bill.

The *seventh schedule* was then moved. This schedule provides for *the regulations to be adopted by both Houses of the Irish Parliament.*

Time of discussion	None
Government majority	31
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	8
British majority *against* the Government	28

A *new* schedule in the place of schedule 6 was then moved. This schedule referred to the *establishment of police forces, and providing for the discontinuance of the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Dublin police.*

Time of discussion	None
Government majority	30
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	7
British majority *against* the Government	27

The *preamble* of the Bill (that is to say, the *introduction*) was then moved.

Time of discussion	None
Government majority	30
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	7
British majority *against* the Government	27

This was the last division, and the Bill was thus passed through Committee.

The scenes which had marked this last night of discussion were thoroughly disgraceful to the House of Commons. These scenes were the *result* of much which had gone before. The action of the Government *in putting down free speech*, and *gagging the House of Commons* in order to *force* the measure through had led to *great irritation*. The conduct of the Irish Nationalist Party during the debate had been on many occasions rude and insulting. The Unionists, who regarded the Home Rule measure as a great blow against the unity of the Empire, had done their best to reveal its rottenness. Their arguments had been met, sometimes by silence on the part of the Government, and sometimes by evasion. Vital parts of the Bill had been changed *suddenly*, and discussion had been *prevented* by the closure. Clause after clause had been forced upon the House without any debate. The dignity of the House of Commons had been lowered by the action of the Government and the tyranny of Irish members. The rude and rowdy interruptions

and insults to Mr. Chamberlain, while he was speaking, brought matters to a climax, and were the immediately exciting cause of the disgraceful proceedings described.

The whole responsibility for these proceedings rested with the Government.

A letter to the *Times*, signed "Observer," states:—

> "Since the general election of 1892, the irregularity and disorder of the Irish members have greatly increased. . . . The Prime Minister, being in alliance with the Nationalist members, has never checked their disorder. By his conduct he has encouraged it. . . . On Tuesday last a studied speech of bitter insult was composed and delivered by the Prime Minister against Mr. Chamberlain. As bitter as his words were the tone and gesture employed. Reprisal came last night—a reprisal fully justified by the injury inflicted. . . . But another cause of the outbreak was at work. The Prime Minister had arbitrarily brought free discussion to an end. Gagged men are apt to struggle—at any rate to be angry. . . . It was not until our great free Parliament became fettered and silenced that it ever resorted to physical violence."

Another letter in the *Times* of August 1st stated that the Home Rule Bill, when reprinted after it had passed through the Committee stage,

> "*Contained* 1495 *lines. Of these* 331 *only had been discussed;* the remaining 1164 had been 'gagged' and passed without any discussion at all. Of the 331 lines which had been discussed, 155 had been amended."

* * * * * *

We have now finished our observations on the Committee Stage of the Home Rule Bill. For the information of our readers, we may say that a Bill in the House of Commons has to pass through five stages:—(1) The first is called the "First Reading" (or introduction). This is usually a mere formal stage. After the first reading or introduction a Bill is at once printed and circulated. (2) The second stage is called the "Second Reading." The general scope, objects, and procedure of the Bill are debated by its promoters, and by its opponents. (3) The next is the "Committee" Stage. This is the most important stage of all. The Bill is discussed clause by clause, and amendments are proposed, discussed, and divided upon. Each speaker, moreover, can speak more than once, and the proceedings are often of a conversational character. (4) After the Committee Stage is finished, the Bill is then what is called "Reported" to the House, with all amendments which have been made to the various clauses. This is a very important stage, for very often—as, for instance, in the case of the Home Rule Bill—a measure may come out of the Committee Stage so altered as to be, in point of fact, quite another measure. (5) Then comes the final stage, or what is called the "Third Reading." This takes the form of a debate on the whole Bill as amended up to that point. There are rarely any amendments made on the Third Reading, and the division upon the Third Reading takes the form of being either for or against the Bill.

REPORT STAGE.

MONDAY, AUGUST 7th.—FIRST DAY OF THE "REPORT STAGE."

Mr. Parker Smith (Partick) moved a new clause *for the appointment of Boundary Commissioners in order to secure that the constituencies which elected members to the Irish Parliament should be more equal as regards population.*

According to the arrangement in the schedule, or *list of constituencies* proposed by the Bill, great injustice was done to the minority in Ireland. The representation of the south of Ireland was extravagant, while that of the northern parts of Ireland was too small. As an example of the inequalities, it was shown that, at present, the whole county of Down had four representatives. The Government proposed in the schedule that it should in future have only three, but the small borough of Newry, with less than 2,000 electors, would return one member, while the rest of the county, with nearly 40,000 electors, would only have two members. The northern Unionist county of Armagh had twice the number of electors as the Nationalist county of Meath, but had only the same number of representatives. The northern Unionist county of Down, with 38,000 electors, had only the same number of representatives as Nationalist Kerry with 21,000 electors. The Gladstonian members themselves spoke against these inequalities, but the Government declined to give way.

The clause was defeated.

The discussion lasted about	3½ hours
Government majority	44
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	21
British majority *against* the Government	3

Mr. Parker Smith (Partick) moved a new clause *abolishing the assistance now given to illiterates for recording their votes.*

At present, if a man declared that he could not read or write he applied, under the Ballot Act of 1872, to someone—who was, it turned out, generally the priest—to have his paper marked for him. It was shown that this power was abused, and that the man really voted for anyone whom the priest chose. The disgraceful revelations of the Meath elections were referred to. The evidence at the Meath election petition showed that in every booth the electioneering agent for one of the candidates was a Catholic priest.

Mr. T. W. Russell declared that this illiteracy was merely an engine of the Roman Catholic priesthood. He had seen it with his own eyes. If a voter showed any hesitation, he was ordered to declare himself illiterate, so that the priests in the polling-booth might see how he voted.

The Government resisted the clause, and it was defeated.

The discussion lasted about	3 hours
Government majority	43
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	20
British vote	equal

TUESDAY, AUGUST 8th.—SECOND DAY OF THE "REPORT STAGE."

Mr. Macartney (South Antrim) moved a new clause *as a substitute for Clause 9 of the Bill.* The new clause provided that *after the Irish people had a Parliament of their own they should cease to return members to the British Parliament.*

This gave rise to an important debate, as it raised the whole question of the injustice which would be done to the British people by having British affairs controlled and governed by Irish members.

The discussion, which began at 8.30, was continued till midnight, when the House arose.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 9th.—THIRD DAY OF THE "REPORT STAGE."

The discussion on Mr. Macartney's new clause, for the exclusion of Irish members from the British Parliament, was resumed.

The debate was perhaps the most embarrassing which the Government had to meet. They found it impossible to find any argument to maintain their position. It was pointed out that, under the Bill *as introduced*, the Irish members were to vote on the "in-and-out" plan—that is, they were to vote only on Imperial questions, and not on British questions. Suddenly (at a few hours' notice) the Government changed this plan into one for retaining the eighty Irish members *to vote on every question.* It was declared that this intended change was kept quiet by evasion and trickery, and carried by the coercion of the "gag."

Mr. Chamberlain referred to Sir William Harcourt, who, in 1885, commenting upon the action of the Irish members in the British Parliament, said:—

> "If the English Parliament is not to become a helpless tool in the hands of this party (the Irish party) you must give an overwhelming majority to the only party which has the courage and the honesty to face them."

"This is the position now," added Mr. Chamberlain. "We are face to face with the party of eighty Irish members, and we are prepared to give an overwhelming majority to the party that will dare to face them. Can it be that the courage and honesty are wanting?"

The Government had practically no answer to give to all or any of these arguments, and to the strong speeches delivered by the Unionist members.

The proposed new clause was, therefore, defeated.

The discussion lasted about	8½ hours
Government majority	34
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	11
British majority *against* the Government ...	13

THURSDAY, AUGUST 10th.—FOURTH DAY OF THE "REPORT STAGE."

Mr. Mildmay (Totnes Division of Devon) moved a new clause *with the object of protecting all subjects of the Queen in Ireland in doing any act which they had a legal right to do, or in abstaining from doing any act which they had a legal right to abstain from doing; and that the executive government in Ireland should protect those subjects in the exercise of those liberties, and, failing such protection being given, persons injured might recover damages in respect of such injuries.*

The Government resisted the clause, declaring that it was vague and unnecessary.

It was shown, however, that the Irish Nationalist Party had practically approved of the practice of boycotting; that they had made the lives a burden to those who had dared to resist the will of the Land League, and had compelled them to do things against their will, under the pain of ruin and outrage; and that the protection demanded by the clause was absolutely necessary to protect loyal minorities in the exercise of their rights of common citizenship. The Gladstonians were reminded of the pledges they had given over and over again that these minorities should be protected in their rights.

The clause was defeated.

The discussion lasted about	3¼ hours
Government majority	40
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	17
British majority *against* the Government ...	13

FRIDAY, AUGUST 11th.—FIFTH DAY OF THE "REPORT STAGE."

Lord Wolmer (Edinburgh, W.) moved an amendment empowering the Privy Council to decide whether any Bill dealt with by the Irish Parliament was beyond the powers of that Parliament to deal with.

The clause was defeated.

The discussion lasted about	2 hours
Government majority	45
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	22
British majority *against* the Government ...	5

MONDAY, AUGUST 14th.—SIXTH DAY OF THE "REPORT STAGE."

Major Darwin (Lichfield) moved a new clause *to protect soldiers stationed in Ireland in connection with any service which they might be called upon to give in any civil disturbance, and where the military laws and discipline might prevent them from giving such assistance.*

It was contended that after the passing of this Bill the position of the soldier in Ireland would be an intolerable one. He would be compelled to obey the military laws as laid down by the Imperial Parliament—which he was bound to obey—or to quit the service; and, at the same time, he would be made liable to assist in carrying out the laws of the Irish Parliament, over which the Imperial Parliament had no control. He would have, in fact, two masters, and be subject to punishment unless he obeyed both, which was impossible.

The clause was, however, opposed by the Government, and defeated.

The discussion lasted	2¾ hours
Government majority	29
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	6
British majority *against* the Government ...	14

TUESDAY, AUGUST 15th.—SEVENTH DAY OF THE "REPORT STAGE."

Mr. Heneage (Grimsby) moved an amendment to *omit the preamble or introduction of the Bill.* He did so on the ground that the preamble had never been discussed in consequence of the *gagging* resolution; that since the introduction of the Bill the measure had been changed in all its vital points; that there was practically now a new Bill; and that the preamble, therefore, in no way represented the character of the Bill.

The Government resisted the motion, which was defeated.

The discussion lasted about	1 hour
Government majority	45
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	22
British majority *against* the Government ...	4

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 16th.—EIGHTH DAY OF THE "REPORT STAGE."

Mr. Morley, the Chief Secretary, moved to insert after sub-section 3 in Clause 2 the following further restriction:—"(4) *Authorising either the carrying or using of arms for military purposes, or the formation of associations for drill or practice in the use of arms for military purposes.*"

The object of this new sub-section was for the purposes of withdrawing from the Irish Legislature the power of forming associations for drill or practice in the use of arms for military purposes. The sub-section was brought up in accordance with a pledge given during the debate in Committee on June 2nd. The restriction in the sub-section only refers to *military purposes*, but it does not touch associations or clubs which do not come under that designation. The Unionist party, however, accepted these words as being the best they could get.

Sir John Gorst (Cambridge University) moved an amendment to *prevent the Irish Legislature from passing laws affecting the hours and conditions of labour in factories, workshops, and mines.*

At present such legislation was under the control of the Imperial Parliament, and should continue under such control. There was a splendid system of factory legislation enforced by inspectors throughout the United Kingdom. It was contended that this uniformity should continue, otherwise there might be different regulations in Ireland from those in England. This was a *labour* question.

It was pointed out that the trades unionists of Ireland were few in number, and that they were only powerful through their alliance with the trades unionists of England and Scotland. Under the Bill they would be a small body, with comparatively little power.

The so-called labour members in the House of Commons were challenged to *have the courage to support* the amendment instead of to oppose it, and, in the latter case, abandon their fellow trades unionists in Ireland. It was urged that the working classes in Great Britain would scarcely believe the *monstrous character* of the Government propositions. Under the Bill, there would be eighty Irish members in the Imperial Parliament who would determine the kind of factory legislation to be adopted in Great Britain. They could deal with child labour and women labour, the hours of work in mines and factories, and all other conditions of labour in Great Britain, which would not apply to Ireland, and *these same members*, after having SETTLED these matters for the English and Scotch, would be able to make in the Irish Parliament *what regulations they chose as affecting Ireland.* They might, for instance, vote for or against an *eight-hours day in Great Britain*, and allow *ten hours in Ireland.* They might vote for *prohibiting or regulating* women labour and child labour in Great Britain, and, at the same time, make what regulation *they* chose with regard to such labour in Ireland. It was pointed out that the result would be an *unfair and damaging competition* between the two countries.

The Government resisted the amendment, which was accordingly defeated, and it was worthy of notice that those who figure on platforms as the *friends* of trades unionists were restrained by *party* considerations from voting *for* the amendment in favour of the working classes.

The discussion lasted about	2 hours
Government majority	45
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	22

Mr. Vicary Gibbs (Hertfordshire) moved an amendment to Clause 3, *to prevent the Irish Legislature from dealing with coinage and currency.*

As the Bill stood, the Irish Government would have power to issue what is called a paper currency without any *security* to the *holder* of it.

The debate was continued until 5:30, when it stood adjourned.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 17th.—NINTH DAY OF THE "REPORT STAGE."

(*The debate on Mr. Vicary Gibbs' amendment was continued.*)

It was pointed out that to give the Irish Government power to issue paper money would be dangerous to trade and to individuals. It was a power that the *Imperial Government did not possess*, and which should not be given to the *Irish* Government.

Mr. Gladstone opposed the amendment, and it was defeated.

The discussion lasted about	1½ hours
Government majority	42
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	19

Mr. Vicary Gibbs moved an amendment to Clause 3, *to prevent the Irish Legislature from legislating on the subject of bills of exchange.*

This was a matter of great importance to the whole of the trading community.

Mr. Jacks (Gladstonian member for Stirlingshire) spoke strongly *in favour* of the amendment, and pointed out the confusion and difficulty which would be produced in trade and commerce if it were not adopted.

Mr. Gladstone, however, opposed the amendment, and represented the opposition to it as another *attack* on the proposed Irish Government.

The amendment was defeated.

The discussion lasted about	1½ hours
Government majority	34
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-re presented	11

Mr. Macartney (South Antrim) moved an amendment *for the purpose of removing the questions of marriage and divorce from the subjects allowed to be dealt with by the Irish Legislature.*

The question had been previously debated in Committee, but the anxiety and alarm which existed among the Protestant population of Ireland through the action of the Government in resisting the amendment were still very great. The strong arguments used in Committee *were repeated*, and *earnest appeals* were made to protect the Presbyterian and other Protestant sects in their present customs with regard to marriage and divorce, and not to place these questions, *which affect the domestic happiness of a people to so large a degree*, under a Roman Catholic and Nationalist Parliament.

The debate had proceeded only a short time, when it was *closured on the motion of Mr. Morley.*

The discussion lasted about	1¼ hours
Government majority	49
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	26

Lord George Hamilton (Middlesex, Ealing) moved an amendment to Clause 3 *to prevent the Irish Legislature from having the power to pass resolutions in connection with the Army and Navy, and the defences of the country.*

It was pointed out that in case of war, the Irish Parliament might, under the Bill, pass *resolutions of sympathy* with *our opponents,* and might do other acts by *resolution* which would create grave difficulties in times of disputes or wars with foreign countries.

The Government, however, opposed all concessions, and the amendment was defeated.

The discussion lasted about	2¼ hours
Government majority	39
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	16

FRIDAY, AUGUST 18th.—TENTH DAY OF THE "REPORT STAGE."

Mr. Powell Williams (South Birmingham) moved an amendment *to prevent the Irish Parliament imposing any disability, or conferring any advantage, on account of religious belief, or raising any revenue for religious purposes, or for the benefit of the holders of any religious office, as such, save as heretofore.*

The Government accepted this amendment, which was all the Unionists could get, although it left the whole powers mentioned as *heretofore*—that is, as already mentioned in the Bill—untouched. It did not prevent the evils named in the debate in Committee, but made it necessary to exercise more care in the methods by which the powers referred to were exercised. For instance, priests and nuns in Ireland might be managers of industrial schools, reformatories, elementary schools, and other institutions, and the Irish Government voting money to these institutions would have to vote it nominally for the *support of educational teaching,* and not for *religious* teaching, though the *sectarian character* of the institutions would remain.

MONDAY, AUGUST 21st.—ELEVENTH DAY OF THE "REPORT STAGE."

Another "Gagging" Resolution.

This day's sitting was occupied with the discussion of another *gagging* resolution brought forward *by Mr. Gladstone,* to the effect that, *at eleven o'clock on Friday, the 25th, all discussion*

on the Report stage of the Bill should cease; and that any amendments standing in the name of the Government should then be put to the vote without discussion. All the other amendments standing in the name of the Unionist party, whether good or bad, were not to be discussed, and were not even to be put to the vote.

The discussion on this proposal was of an angry character.

Mr. Chamberlain opposed the "gagging," and moved an amendment against it.

He quoted Mr. Gladstone, who, speaking of the closure in 1881, declared that it was never intended to be *used against the minority in the ordinary sense*, but only intended to enable the House, irrespective of party, *to put a stop to occasional obstinacy of some particular member.* He pointed out that Mr. Gladstone was *then* of opinion, that *no* majority was justified in dealing, by means of the closure, with an *ordinary* minority. All these opinions, Mr. Chamberlain showed, were now thrown to the winds. We were to have legislation *by the gag*, instead of legislation *by discussion.* The Prime Minister was acting as a Dictator by desiring to impose his will on the people of Great Britain, and this, too, over a measure which had *never been before the constituencies*, and for which *he had no mandate. The Bill was being forced through Parliament by Irish votes—votes purchased by a surrender of the best interests of Great Britain—and by a majority returned by priests, illiterates, and moonlighters. Three-quarters of the Bill* would be passed *without consideration or discussion of any kind.* Questions deeply affecting Great Britain were to be passed by means of the gag, and amendments were not even allowed to be *divided* on, much less *discussed.* All this was to punish them (the British people) for not having given a majority to the Prime Minister. Mr. Chamberlain concluded his speech by saying:—

> "We appeal to the country against this political dictatorship—by which the interests of Great Britain have been surrendered and betrayed—and against the tactics by which the House of Commons has been insulted and degraded."

Mr. Balfour, in a brilliant speech, concluded the debate. He showed that the liberty and honour of the House were flung aside; he challenged the Government to appeal to the people, whom they were deceiving.

Mr. Chamberlain's amendment was then put and defeated.

The discussion lasted about	7 hours
Government majority	38
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	15
British majority *against* the Government ...	13

The "gagging" resolution was then passed without a division.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 22nd.—TWELFTH DAY OF THE "REPORT STAGE."

Mr. Parker Smith (Partick) moved an amendment *to prevent the Irish Parliament from suspending the writ of Habeas Corpus.*

This question was raised in Committee, and was then resisted by the Government. Mr. Parker Smith's present amendment was a further attempt to induce the Government to give way.

Sir Henry James (Bury) stated that they (the Opposition) did not *wish* to discuss the matter twice over, but that they keenly felt the *injustice* which would be done unless a remedy were provided, and that it was their bounden duty to do all they could to prevent the danger the amendment contemplated. It was now, he said, avowedly proposed to allow the Irish Government a free hand to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. He contended that this was an *Imperial* matter, and that it was one which should be left in the hands of the Imperial Government to deal with.

Mr. Barton (Mid. Armagh) as a representative of the Irish minority, reminded the House that the debate in Committee was closured *before any Irish Loyalist member had spoken.* He protested against the terribly coercive conditions of the Bill as it stood. In the American States no such powers as those under discussion existed; and he asked, "*Were the people of Ulster to submit to a tyrannous Constitution which no American citizen would accept*?"

The Irish members opposed, the Government declined to give way, and the amendment was defeated.

The discussion lasted about	¾ hour
Government majority	44
Government majority after deducting the 23 members by which Ireland is over-represented	21
British majority *against* the Government ...	6

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 23rd.—THIRTEENTH DAY OF THE "REPORT STAGE."

Lord Cranborne (Rochester) moved an amendment to Clause 5 setting forth that *in all matters in Clause* 3 *on which the Irish Legislature were not allowed to legislate, and with respect to all restrictions on their legislation contained in Clause* 4, *the Lord Lieutenant should act as representing Her Majesty, and not on the advice of the Irish Government.*

The object of this amendment was to secure that in these Imperial matters in Ireland the Lord Lieutenant should have powers over the Executive (police, sheriffs, etc.) in order to see that they were carried out. It was held to be *absolutely necessary* that the Lord Lieutenant should act as representing Her Majesty—and under the advice of the Imperial Government—in all matters which were excluded from the power of the Irish Legislature by Clauses 3 and 4.

The amendment was under discussion at 5.30, when the debate was adjourned.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 24th.—FOURTEENTH DAY OF THE "REPORT STAGE."

(*The debate on Lord Cranborne's amendment was resumed.*)

It was urged that it was useless to reserve certain subjects from the power of the Irish Parliament, unless the Lord Lieutenant, as a representative of the Queen, acting under the advice of the Imperial Government, had power to enforce these conditions; and that unless the amendment was accepted, the Lord Lieutenant would be a blind instrument in the hands of the Irish Legislature.

Mr. Balfour gave, as an instance, that in sub-section 4 it was provided that the Irish Parliament should pass *no Act* affecting the conscience clause, but that it *required no Act of Parliament to do this*. The Irish Educational Board could do it without legislation. The Board might, with the consent of the Lord Lieutenant, issue fresh rules, and so abolish the conscience clause *in every school in Ireland*. This was one of the many injustices which might easily be done, if the Lord Lieutenant in such matters was to act solely on the advice of the *Irish Ministers*.

Mr. Courtney supported the amendment. He asked the Government why they should allow any doubt to exist on such an important matter. Why not make it *clear* by *accepting* the amendment?

The amendment, however, was opposed by the Government, and after a discussion of about three and a half hours' duration, it was defeated by a majority of 54.

Sir Richard Temple (Kingston, Surrey) moved an amendment *providing that the Lord Lieutenant should give or withhold the Royal assent to bills in accordance with instructions given by Her Majesty*.

This amendment was another attempt to make the veto *a real safeguard* to the minorities in Ireland.

It was shown that in Grattan's Parliament, which existed in Ireland for eighteen years in the last century, every Act had to be approved by the *Sovereign acting under the advice of the Imperial Ministry*. It was shown that the eighty Irish members in the Imperial Parliament would be practically exercising the powers of the veto on Scotch and English legislation, while English and Scotch members would have no control over Irish legislation.

The Irish Nationalist members declared that they would not submit to any such restriction.

Sir Henry James said that the question simply was whether all *powers of legislation were to be handed over to the Irish Parliament without any check*.

After about an hour's discussion, the amendment was defeated by a majority of fifty

FRIDAY, AUGUST 25th.—FIFTEENTH DAY OF THE "REPORT STAGE."

Mr. Gerald Balfour (Leeds) moved an amendment *to enable the Lord Lieutenant to refuse his assent to any provisions or legislation which might be joined on to Appropriation Bills.*

This amendment raised a vital question, and caused a warm discussion.

To show the importance of the matter, it is necessary to explain that an *Appropriation* Bill is a bill brought into Parliament at the end of a session to apportion the money voted by Parliament to the different departments of the public service in which that money is to be spent. If assent to these Appropriation Bills were refused, the business of every department of Government would be *stopped.* All the salaries of the officials—all the work of the country—would be interfered with, and general confusion in all the departments would be the result. To avoid this confusion, the assent of the Queen is *always given* to Appropriation Bills. In the Irish Parliament, however, the Lord Lieutenant, acting under the advice of the Irish Government, would have to assent to the Appropriation Bills placed before him. It was shown that, under the Home Rule Bill, as it stood, the Irish Executive could *tack on any illegal or objectionable legislation to such Appropriation Bills,* and so could compel the Lord Lieutenant to give his assent thereto as being part of the *Appropriation Bill.*

As one instance among many, the Irish Parliament might add to an Appropriation Bill a provision suspending trial by jury in Ulster, or some other oppressive measure affecting the rights of the loyal and Protestant minorities in Ireland. Such oppressive legislation would thus be *smuggled* through as part of an Appropriation Bill.

Mr. Gladstone, in an angry speech, *refused* the amendment.

Mr. Courtney (Bodmin) showed that without this amendment the veto of the Lord Lieutenant, which had been so much relied on, *would be valueless;* and *that all the restrictions and limitations imposed on the Irish Parliament might be evaded if the latter were allowed to tack Bills, dealing with prohibited matters, on to Appropriation Bills.* He said that the Government were bound to reply to their arguments unless they were ready to confess that they intended the Irish Legislature *to be in no way subordinate to the Imperial Parliament.* Mr. Goschen also challenged a reply. He said the House and the country *would now know that the bubble of the veto had been pricked, and that every provision for the protection of the loyal and Protestant minorities in Ireland was knocked on the head.*

The Government felt that some reply was necessary, and Mr. Bryce, therefore, made a lame speech, but the only answer he could give was that the Lord Lieutenant could veto the Appropriation Bill—a remedy the utterly impracticable character of which created much laughter in the House. He made the dangerous admission that if the Irish Parliament wished to do things

beyond their legitimate power *there were other ways besides this in which they could do so*—a statement which was received with ironical cheers, as it admitted (*what the Unionists had been contending for all along*) that all the so-called safeguards were mere shams.

Mr. Chamberlain criticised Mr. Bryce's speech, and quoted a statement of his made in Committee, on July the 6th, in which he (Mr. Bryce) *approved of power being given* to the Lord Lieutenant in the matter of Appropriation Bills, a power which the present amendment sought to give, and which he (Mr. Bryce) was now opposing. Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that Mr. Bryce, in his speech, could only now say that it was useless to adopt the amendment because the Irish Legislature might if they chose evade all the safeguards for the loyalist minority provided in the Bill—that it was useless to deal with this particular point, inasmuch as there were lots of other ways in which the Irish Parliament could elude the restrictions placed upon them. The Government, however, were not allowed by the Irish Party to make any concession and, therefore, after about two hours' debate, Mr. Gerald Balfour's amendment was negatived without a division.

Sir Thomas Lea (Londonderry) moved an amendment *to prevent the National Board of Education from altering the present rules affecting education in Ireland without the consent of the Lord Lieutenant, acting as representative of Her Majesty;* that is to say, without the consent of the *Imperial Government.*

He pointed out that the present system of education was undenominational; that nearly half the schools in Ireland were mixed schools which Protestant and Roman Catholic children attended; that in the southern parts of Ireland the number of Protestant children was very small, and that it was necessary to protect them from any alteration of the rules which at present shielded them.

Mr. Chamberlain dwelt on the importance of the amendment. He urged that though (*the hour for "gagging" the debate being near*) there was no time to discuss it, yet the division lists would be important as showing which members were willing to place the education of Ireland in the absolute power of a Parliament, the majority of whose members would be of necessity elected under the influence of the Roman Catholic priests.

Mr. Healy replied, in a rude speech, full of impertinent references to the Unionist party. He dealt with matters outside the question, in order to fill up the short time left before the gagging resolution would take effect, and with the evident object of preventing the Ulster members from speaking, and showing up the gross injustice to the Protestant minority in Ireland, which, in the matter of education, the Bill would inflict.

He was speaking at 11 o'clock, when, according to the "gagging" resolution, the debate was to be brought to a close.

The Speaker then rose and put the amendment, which was defeated by a majority of thirty-six.

The new clauses and amendments prepared by the Government were then proposed, and all were added to the Bill without discussion. There were no divisions taken on these clauses and amendments, with the exception of two.

The *Report* stage was thus concluded *by means of the "gag,"* and the Third Reading was fixed for Wednesday, the 30th of August.

THIRD READING.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 30th.—FIRST DAY OF THE THIRD READING.

Mr. Gladstone to-day *moved the third reading* of the Bill. He did not go into the merits of the Bill itself, but spoke mainly of the time the measure had occupied in Parliament. He referred to the opinions of foreign writers with regard to Ireland, and especially quoted Count Cavour as being in favour of his Irish policy. He referred at length to the legislatures in Norway and Sweden and in other European countries in defence of his Home Rule proposals for Ireland.

Mr. Courtney (Bodmin) *moved the rejection* of the Bill. He combatted Mr. Gladstone's reference to continental countries; he said that Norway and Sweden had nothing whatever to do with the question before the House, and that Count Cavour in Italy, in spite of great opposition, suppressed all the State Legislatures which existed, and made a *united* Italy. He pointed out that there was *no national demand* in Great Britain for Home Rule, and that there *was scarcely a meeting held in its favour.* A Bill of such importance had never been introduced into Parliament before. It proposed to alter the constitution of the United Kingdom. In other countries all alterations of the constitution were made very difficult. He contended that the Bill being presented to the country for the first time, the Opposition were bound to fully discuss it in order that the constituencies might know what it meant. Important parts of it had been *changed* since its introduction. The retention of the Irish members *for all purposes* had been decided on only by the Government *a few hours before the closure was applied*, and thus left it practically undiscussed.

Mr. John Redmond (Waterford), as an Irish Nationalist, made an important speech. He said that the long time which had been spent upon the Committee of the Bill *had been well spent*, and that although there had been trivial speeches made, yet he thought, *on the whole, it had been a discussion worthy of the House, and had thrown much light upon a difficult and complicated problem.* He plainly said, however, that, "as the Bill now stood, no man in his senses could any longer regard it either as a full, a final, or satisfactory settlement of the Irish National demand. The word "*provisional*" had been stamped in red ink

across every page of the Bill. . . . He should say that the Bill, as it now stood, could, under no conceivable circumstances, afford a full, final, or satisfactory settlement of the question." He specially objected to the *financial* clauses; he said that it would be impossible to carry on the government of Ireland under those clauses, and that they would bring about national bankruptcy to that country.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 31st.—SECOND DAY OF THE THIRD READING.

Mr. Tritton (Norwood) referred to the Prime Minister's statement that the pleas put forward by the Opposition against the Bill were "enormous, hideous, and monstrous falsehoods." He asked *if the pleas that had been made by the Protestants of Ireland were to be described in these terms, and expressed surprise that the Prime Minister—who owed his position to the Nonconformist votes in England at the last election—should express such opinions of the appeals that were put forward against this unrighteous Bill by the Protestant bodies in Ireland.*

Sir Charles Russell, the Attorney-General (South Hackney) made a speech in support of the Bill, but cleverly passed over the main points of the Bill, such as the *retention of the Irish members, the financial clauses, and the question of the land*, which had not been discussed at all.

Mr. T. W. Russell (South Tyrone), speaking for the people of Ulster, objected to be governed by men whose record in the past gave no guarantee for good government in the future. The Government were proposing to read a Bill a third time, two-thirds of which had never been discussed by the House. He spoke of the present system of Irish elementary education which was set up 60 years ago. It had worked marvels. The children of different denominations had met together in the same school with beneficent effect. Minorities, and the rights of conscience, were protected by rules and by conscience clauses. A Protestant child was safe in a Roman Catholic school, and a Catholic child was safe in a Protestant school. The Government, however, was now going to hand over that system, which had done so much for the Irish, to be controlled by men who had sworn eternal enmity to mixed education.

Sir Henry James (Bury) opposed the Third Reading. The House of Lords, he said, would *refuse* to pass it until it had the approval of the *people* of the country, and it was only by this means that the measure could be placed before the constituencies at all. The House of Lords would say, "*We demand that before Great Britain is separated from Ireland and ruled by Irish members, the electors of Great Britain shall express their opinion.*" He referred to the revelations before the Judges at the Parnell Commission, and said that the men to whom those revelations related were the men to be entrusted with the task of governing Ireland. He referred to the position of the Exchequer Judges

to be appointed in Ireland to decide on Imperial matters. He pointed out that *these Judges had no executive power to carry out their decrees*. He said their position would be the laughing-stock, not only of this country, but of the people throughout the world.

FRIDAY, SEPT. 1st.—THIRD DAY OF THE THIRD READING.

Mr. Justin McCarthy (North Longford), on behalf of his section of the Nationalist party, thanked the Prime Minister for bringing in the Bill, which, he said, would receive a cordial welcome on their part. He *fenced* with the question of *finality*, and said that the Bill contained a final *principle*. It was, nevertheless, absurd to suppose that that or any other measure could be final in any rigid or pedantic sense.

Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that Mr. McCarthy had *guarded* himself as to accepting the Bill as a final measure and accepting the measure with a *cordial welcome*. With a separate Parliament and a separate Executive in Ireland, the Irish could hamper and embarrass our foreign policy. He pointed out that, in the Bill, the idea of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament *was entirely abandoned;* that the protection of the minorities was a *farce;* and that these minorities were told to rely on the *generosity and goodwill* of the Irish Legislature, which would be composed of men who had threatened and denounced the minorities in question, and who had declared that they would take *vengeance* upon them whenever they had the opportunity. He spoke of the *secrecy* with which the Bill had been prepared—a secrecy which was also practised with the Bill of 1886. When he (Mr. Chamberlain) at that time joined the Government, Mr. Gladstone declared that he was not committed to the policy of Home Rule. He (Mr. Chamberlain) ridiculed the charge that they wished to re-establish the Protestant ascendancy. *Equal laws and equal privileges* existed at present throughout Ireland, but the Home Rule Bill would establish an *ascendancy of the Catholic priesthood and of the promoters of the Land League*. He alluded to the promise of the Prime Minister, that the *majority* of the *British people* should be consulted about the retention of Irish members in the Imperial Parliament, and he declared that he (the Prime Minister) had thrown all his pledges and promises to the winds. In concluding, Mr. Chamberlain said that the Unionist party would appeal to the good sense of the British people to save them from being made the laughing-stock of all mankind.

Sir Edward Grey (Berwick), Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, defended the Bill on behalf of the Government. He went over Mr. Gladstone's arguments. While admitting the strength of the feeling on the part of the members for Ulster, he denied the force of their arguments. After all, he said, they spoke only for a minority of the Irish people.

Colonel Saunderson (North Armagh) spoke against the Bill; he again pleaded for the Ulster minority; and he declared that *all* the safeguards in the Bill were *shams and delusions*. He pointed out that the Bill was only being passed by *gagging* the British members, and he asserted that before the measure could be thrust down the throats of the Ulster people *the forces of the Crown would have to be employed against the loyal population.*

Mr. R. Wallace (Edinburgh), a Gladstonian, denounced the Bill, and declared that he would not vote for the third reading. In a long and eloquent speech he pointed out the objections to the measure, and said the result of the Bill might be the creation of fresh Irish discontent in Dublin, and of intrigue in the Parliament at Westminster. He was no friend of the House of Lords, but he believed that by *throwing out* the Bill that House would be *strengthened*. By the 9th Clause—dealing with the retention of Irish members—the Bill now said that self-government was *right* for Ireland, but that it was *wrong* for Great Britain. When the Scotch people came to understand that their seventy-two members were to have *no* voice in the proposed Irish Parliament, but that the Irish were to have 80 *members* in the House of Commons to control Scotch affairs, they would object to such a proposal.

Mr. Balfour made a powerful speech against the Bill. Having referred to the *shameful* interference with the liberty of debate, he pointed out that the Irish Nationalists had refused to commit themselves to the Bill *as a final settlement*. He asserted that the Unionists were backed up by a majority of the people of Great Britain, and that the House of Lords in throwing out the Bill, *in order that the measure might be placed before the constituencies*, would receive the approbation of the people. The Government were anxious to finish the Third Reading and to get rid of the Bill, but they *knew* that it was *dead*. Gladstonians could not in future deceive the electors, because they (the electors) *now* had the Bill before them, and knew what Home Rule meant.

Mr. John Morley (Newcastle) replied to the statements of Unionist members, and to their quotations from speeches of Gladstonians. He did not, however, deal with the Bill itself, or even attempt to answer any of the arguments against its provisions.

Colonel Nolan (North Galway) made a short speech, in which he protested against the financial clauses of the Bill, and said that Ireland ought to have *more favourable terms*.

The House then divided on Mr. Courtney's amendment for the rejection of the Bill. *This was defeated by a majority of thirty-four.*

The Third Reading was then passed, by a majority of thirty-four, amidst a scene of great excitement, the Irish members and Gladstonians waving their hats and cheering the Prime Minister, and the House adjourned at one o'clock in the morning.

According to the *Times*, an analysis of the division lists on the Third Reading of the Bill shows that the majority of 303 (including tellers) was composed of 184 members representing constituencies in England and Wales, 39 Scotch members, and 80 Irish members; while the minority of 269 (also including tellers) consisted of 229 English and Welsh members, 17 Scotch members, and 23 Irish members. The list of pairs included 92 members, 37 English and 9 Scotch being for the Bill, and 40 English and 6 Scotch against. The net result of the division, therefore, taking into account the members who were paired as well as those who actually voted, was: For the Third Reading, 349; against, 315. This gives a total of 664. The six members whose names do not appear in either of the division lists or the lists of pairs are the Speaker (who never votes unless to determine a tie), Messrs. Wallace and Rathbone, who deliberately abstained, and Sir Edward Watkin, Baron H. de Worms, and Mr. J. Wilson (Durham), who were absent unpaired. Of the 495 English and Welsh members, 490 were accounted for, 221 being in favour of the measure and 269 *against;* while of the 72 Scotch members 71 voted, 43 being in favour of the measure and 23 against. Every one of the Irish members (103 in all) voted, 80 for the Bill and 23 against.

The final decision of Great Britain, therefore, is as follows:—

For the Bill	269
Against	292
Majority against	23

The voice of England and Wales is even more conclusive, the figures being:—

For the Bill	221
Against	269
Majority against	48

We have now concluded a sketch of the progress of the Home Rule Bill through the House of Commons. The debate has, we trust, made clear the true meaning and significance of the measure.

Three-quarters of the Bill *have not been discussed at all*, and, with regard to many of the clauses and amendments, discussion *was cut short* by the closure. Several of the undiscussed clauses, such as those relating to the land, the re-distribution of seats, and other constitutional questions were of vital importance. On almost every division *a majority of British members has been against the Government*. The Gladstonian members have voted one way on one day, and another way on another day—exactly, in fact, as they were *ordered*.

The result of the discussion is to place the issue plainly before the electors of Great Britain. That issue is, as Mr. Chamberlain put it—"Whether the interests of Great Britain are to be controlled by delegates from Ireland, nominated by priests, elected by illiterates, and subsidised by the enemies of this country."

HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Bill was sent to the House of Lords, where it was defeated on the second reading by a majority of 378.

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